

TRAVELS
IN
VARIOUS COUNTRIES
OF
EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA.

BY EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, LL. D.

PART II. SECTION II.

GREECE, EGYPT, AND THE HOLY LAND.

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P R E F A C E

TO THE

SECOND SECTION OF PART THE SECOND.

THIS further addition to the SECOND PART of these travels, will enable the reader to form a tolerable estimate of the probable compass of the entire work: and it may serve to prove, that the author, if he should live to complete his undertaking, has not exceeded his original estimate, in the account of a journey through forty-five degrees of longitude, and nearly forty of latitude. By the endeavours made to concentrate the subject, he may, perhaps, sometimes have omitted observations which a particular class of readers would have preferred to those which have been inserted. He has sometimes, for example, sacrificed statistical notices, that he might introduce historical information, where ancient history is pre-ëminently interesting; and again, on the other hand, he has purposely omitted much that he had written on the subject of antiquities, that he might insert a few remarks upon the Egyptian and Grecian scenery, and upon the manners of the people. General observations, as applied to the inhabitants of Greece, cannot well be made; it would be a vain undertaking to characterize in one view such a various population. Throughout every part of the country there may be observed, not only a difference of morals and of habits, but also peculiarities of religion and of language. In the mixed society of one island, the *Italian* character seems to predominate; in another, *Turks* or *Albanians* have

introduced their distinctions of manners and customs. Perhaps this may be one of the causes, which, added to the fine climate of the country, and to its diversified landscape, communicate such a high degree of cheerfulness during a journey or a voyage in Greece: for whether the traveller be upon its continent, or visiting its islands, a succession of new objects is continually presenting itself; and in places which are contiguous in situation, he may witness a more striking change, both as to natural and to moral objects, than would be found in other countries, for example in Russia, if he were to traverse a very considerable portion of the globe.* After all, an author, in the arrangement of his materials, cannot be supposed capable of making any exact calculation, as to what his readers may deem it proper for him to omit, or to insert: but so far as experience has enabled the writer of these travels to determine, he has endeavoured to obviate former objections; first, by disposing into the form of notes all extraneous matter, and all citations; and secondly, by compressing even these as much as possible, both by diminishing the size of the type, and by the omission of Latin interpretations of Greek authors, which are often erroneous. With regard, however, to the numerous additions made to his work in the form of notes, it may be proper to state, once for all, that they are exclusively his own, with the exception of the extracts made from the *manuscript Journals* of his friends: and when these occur, the name of the traveller has always been added, to whom the author is indebted for the passage inserted. He has been induced to mention this circumstance, that no person may be made responsible for any of those errors and imperfections which belong solely to himself.

In addition to the *manuscript Journal* of Mr. WALPOLE, this part of the work will be found to contain also a few extracts made from the posthumous papers of the late lieutenant-colonel JOHN SQUIRE, of the corps of Royal Engineers; who met with a melancholly fate, in the service of his country, at *Truxillo* in Spain, in the thirty-third year of his age. The death of colonel SQUIRE was owing to a fever occasioned by excessive fatigue at the siege of *Badajoz*. Never was

* "Where'er we tread, 'tis haunted, holy ground,
And one vast realm of wonder spreads around."
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, p. 105. Lond. 1805.

the loss of any officer more deeply and sincerely lamented by his friends and fellow soldiers. To be employed in fighting the battles of his country was his ruling passion; and in fighting them he had been nobly engaged for the last thirteen years of his life. During that space of time, he served on the several expeditions to the *Helder*, to *Egypt*, to *South America*, to *Sweden*, under Sir J. Moore, to *Portugal* and *Spain*, under the same general, to *Zealand*, and a second time to the *Spanish Peninsula*, where he terminated his honourable career. The active mind of colonel Squire did not content itself with the acquirements proper to his profession only, but was impelled, by a large and liberal curiosity, to obtain every sort of useful or of interesting knowledge. In all the countries which he visited, he kept a full and accurate journal, not only of military affairs, but of every thing else either curious or important. It is to colonel Squire that the literary world owes the discovery of the inscription upon the pedestal of *Pompey's pillar* near *Alexandria*, which had eluded the ingenuity of all former travellers.

The *catalogue* of the *Patmos Library*, communicated by the MARQUIS of SLIGO; and the remarks made by Mr. WALPOLE, not only upon that catalogue,* but also upon the *Libraries of Greece*; will, it is hoped, be considered as valuable additions to this work. The author is desirous also to mention his obligation to the last of these gentlemen, for the assistance he has rendered in the illustration of many of the inscriptions. Nor can he pass in silence the advantages he has derived from the *manuscript Journal* of his friend and companion, Mr. CRIPPS: particularly in that part of his travels which relates to EGYPT; where the continuation of his own narrative was often interrupted by fatigue or by illness.

A more accurate representation of the appearance of ancient inscriptions upon Greek Marbles, than had appeared in former books of travels, it is presumed, has been adopted. For this purpose, a new species of type was invented by the author, and used in former publications. It has already re-

* The original copy is written in the form usually adopted by the modern Greeks in their cursive style; abounding in contractions, and containing many orthographical errors. If the reader only direct his attention to the title of one manuscript therein mentioned, namely, that of *Diodorus Siculus*, he will be convinced of the importance of making further inquiry into the state of the *Patmos* library; such, for example, as the French nation caused to be instituted, when they despatched the celebrated Hellenist, *Villoison*, to the monasteries of *Mount Athos*.

ceived the approbation of literary men; the Society of Antiquaries having applied to the University of Cambridge for the loan of these types, when engaged in publishing the late professor Porson's restoration of the celebrated *Rosetta* inscription.

It may, perhaps, be deemed a bold acknowledgment to confess, that the account of *Heliopolis*, and of the *Memphian Pyramids*, was written without consulting a single page of Jacob Bryant's "Observations upon the Ancient History of Egypt." The author has, however, since bestowed all the attention he could command, upon that learned work; and the perusal of it has made known to him the source of Larcher's opinion concerning a *Pseudo Heliopolis* in *Arabia*, together with his reasons for placing the renowned city of that name in the *Delta*, although the French writer did not acknowledge whence they were derived. Now the whole of Larcher's pretended discovery, and of Bryant's most elaborate dissertation, may be reduced to a single query; namely, whether we are at liberty to alter the received text of an ancient author, in such a manner, as to transpose the names of two *Nomes*?* If we be not allowed this freedom, the opinions thereby deduced have no weight. After all the labour bestowed upon the subject, the truth must rest upon the examination of a few brief extracts from Herodotus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus, as compared with the modern geography and existing antiquities of Egypt, with which Bryant was but little acquainted. It will always be urged, to use his own words,† that "Strabo was upon the spot, and very inquisitive, and very minute and diligent in his description;" and that "we cannot suppose him to have been grossly mistaken." Bryant believed that the whole space between the *Pelusiæ* branch of the Nile and the *Red Sea* was such a sandy waste, that the Israelites never could have inhabited it: although he confesses that "the Jews who, during the captivity, betook themselves to

* *Heliopolites* and *Latopolites*.

† *Observations upon Ancient History*, p. 120. *Lond.* 1767. *So also*, p. 123, (note.) "Strabo's authority must be valid: he was an eye witness of what he speaks of; and seems to have been very inquisitive and exact." Strabo does, however, sometimes describe countries of which he was ignorant, from the reports and writings of others; as in the account he gives of *Argolis* in *Peleponnesus*, where he acknowledges this, and proves his want of information, by affirming that there existed in his time no remains of the city of *Mycenæ*.

this country, thought it no despicable spot to settle in:" and although the present cities of *Old* and *New Cairo*, by their situation, prove that this district has now the preference, he asserts that there were "no *Nomes*, nor places of any repute," in that part of Egypt.* "When they were occupied," says he,† "it was chiefly by foreigners who obtained leave of the princes of Egypt to take up their habitation within them." Wherefore it should appear that the presumed allotment of this territory to the Israelites would be strictly consistent with the ancient usages of the country.

The positions of *Heliopolis*, and of the places near to that city, in *Arabia*, are by no means doubtful; since they are always mentioned together, and in the clearest manner, by Herodotus, by Strabo, by Josephus, by Ptolemy, and by Antoninus, in his Itinerary. Cellarius places *Phacusa*, *Bubastus*, and *Heliopolis*, in ARABIA; upon the authority of Ptolemy. Bryant censures him for so doing; and knowing nothing of the rich borders of *Arabia*, accuses him‡ of stationing provinces "*in the deserts*." The authority of Cellarius ought not to be superseded by the mere opinion even of such a scholar as Bryant; especially if that opinion be unsupported by matter of fact; and in this instance the principle of the "*malim errare*" is very admissible. The evidences for the position of *Heliopolis*, as deduced from Herodotus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus, are as follow.

"To one going upward from *Heliopolis*," says Herodotus,§ "Egypt is narrow, owing to the mountain of Arabia. In this mountain are the quarries whence the stones were taken for building the pyramids of Memphis." The mountain, mentioned by Herodotus in this passage, is evidently. *Mokatam*: and *Letopolis*, *Latopolis*, or *Litopolis*, which Bryant thinks|| derived its name from those quarries (q. d. ΛΙΘΟΠΟΛΙΣ,) being near to it, is mentioned with *Heliopolis* by other writers. We may now consider the circumstances of association under which *Heliopolis* is noticed by Stra-

* See Observations, &c. p. 109.

† Ibid. p. 107.

‡ Ibid. p. 112. Note 7.

§ 'Απὸ δὲ Ἠλιουπόλιδος ἀνω ἰόντι, στενὴ ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης ὄρος παρατίτταται, κ. τ. λ. ἐν τῷ καὶ λιθοτομίαι ἵναισι, αἱ ἔκ τας πυραμίδας κατασκευάζονται τὰς ἐν Μίμφι. Herodoti Euterpe, c. viii. pp. 92, 93. Lond. 1679.

|| See Observ. upon Anc. Hist. p. 123, note 5. Lond. 1767.

bo :* “These places (*Phacusa* and *Phithom*) are near to the vertex of the *Delta* : there is the city of *Babastus* and the *Bubastic Nome* : and beyond this† the *Nome of Heliopolis*, where the *City of the Sun* is situated.” After describing the temple and the antiquities of the city, he continues by giving a description of the Nile beyond the *Delta* ; speaking of *Libya* as being upon his *right*, and *Arabia* upon his *left*. Then he adds this remarkable observation : “Wherefore the *Heliopolitan Nome* is in *Arabia*.” After this, he introduces the *Litopolitan Nome* and the *Babylonian fortress*, as next in succession to the *Heliopolitan* upon the *Arabian side* of the river.

This position of the *Nomes* in Lower Egypt is equally authorized by Ptolemy. He enumerates them as they occurred from *north* to *south*.‡ after Strabo’s method of description ; giving them in this order ;—“the *Bubastic Nome*, and its metropolis *BUBASTUS* : the *Heliopolitan Nome*, and its metropolis *HELIOPOLIS*.” These, together with *Aphroditopolis*, he places in *Arabia*.§

The same position is assigned to them by the itinerary of Antoninus :

IN ARABIA.

Aphroditopolis.

Scenas Mandras . . . M. P. XX.

Babylon M. P. XII.

Helio. M. P. XII.

Other evidence to the same effect, if necessary, may be deduced from Diodorus Siculus, and from Josephus.

In the observations upon *Alexandria*, some additional remarks will be found concerning the *soros of Alexander the Great*, so fortunately added to the trophies of our victories to EGYPT, in the very moment when it was clandestinely conveying to *Paris*. Since the original publication of the *testimonies* respecting this most interesting monument, the edi-

* Οὗτοι δ' οἱ τόποι πλησιάζουσι τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Δέλτα. Αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ ἡ Βουβαστὸς πόλις, καὶ ὁ Βουβαστίνης νόμος· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἡλιοπολίτης νόμος. Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου πόλις, κ. τ. λ. Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1141. edit. Oxon. 1807.

† Ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ. Sic MS. Par. Med. iv. Vid. p. 1141. ed. Oxon.

‡ Vid. Ptolem. Geog. lib. iv. p. 212. Paris, 1546.

§ Ἐν μεθορίῳ Ἀραβίας καὶ

Ἀφροδιτοπόλεως, Βαβυλῶν,

Ἡλιοπόλις. Ptolem. Geog. lib. iv. p. 212. Paris, 1546.

tors of the Edinburgh Encyclopædia have considered the evidence as decisive; and have, by means of their valuable work, given it a passport to the notice of posterity, which the writings of the author were little likely to afford. Occasionally, indeed, it has been urged, that some unknown personage, belonging to the British Museum, does not concur in the opinion thus maintained concerning this remarkable relic. The author has been sometimes asked, Why it is not called the *Soros of Alexander*, in the Catalogues of Antiquities put into the hands of strangers who visit that stately repository? How shall he venture to answer so formidable an interrogation? May he not also propose another, equally redoubtable? it is this: Why has even the historical evidence, touching its discovery, been so unaccountably omitted? Wherefore has the circumstance been withheld from notice, that the Arabs held it in traditionary veneration, as the **TOMB OF ALEXANDER**? The reason why it has not received the appellation of a *Soros* is easily explained. The meaning of this word had never been duly understood,* when the tomb arrived in England; although this is precisely the name given by Herodian to the conditory of Alexander's body; neither had it then been heeded, that what Herodian termed a *Soros*, Juvenal, according to a custom of the Romans, mentioned by Augustinus,† had himself alluded to under the appellation of *Sarcophagus*; ‡ nay, so remarkable was the ignorance of a few persons who opposed the opinion now entertained of this *Soros*, that because it had, at a later period, served as a *cistern* in Egypt, they doubted its original *sepulchral use*: and some even ventured to deny, in direct contradiction of all history, that Alexander was buried in *Alexandria*.§ When the catalogue appeared, in which the antiquities are enumerated, finding that it had not been deemed advisable to state any particulars, even regarding the modern history of the *Alexandrian Soros*, and that the remarkable fact of its being considered by the Arabs as the *tomb of the founder of their city* had been suppressed, the

* This can only be disproved by showing that in some publication dated anterior to 1805, this word had its real signification.

† "Quia enim arca in quâ mortuus ponitur, quod omnes jam Σαρκοφάγον vocant, Σορός dicitur Græcè." *Augustin. de Civitate Dei*, lib. xviii. c. 5.

‡ "Sarcophago contentus erit." — *Juvenal.*

§ For the removal of the body from *Memphis* to *Alexandria*, see Quintus Curtius, Pausanias, &c. &c. Καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν οὗτος ὁ καταγαγὼν ἦν ἢ Μίμψιδος. Pausan. Attica, c. vii. p. 17. edit. Kuhnii. Lips. 1696.

author wrote to request, that a few copies of a letter he had addressed to the gentlemen of the British museum upon the subject, might be distributed *gratis* by the porter at the door: but he was answered, that this would not be approved. The question may, therefore now rest—and, as it is humbly conceived, not on the test of *authority*, but of *evidence*. If mere authority could have any weight, the author might safely adduce the opinions which have fallen, not from private individuals, but from illustrious and renowned men, from a PORSON, and a PARR, and a ZOUCH;* from scholars of the highest eminence both at home and abroad; who have approved his testimony, and have aided and encouraged him in making it public. It is upon the *evidence* alone that this question can be decided; and this is so simple, and so conclusive, that it is open to every apprehension. It merely amounts to this: Whether the cistern held sacred by the Arabs as the conditory of Alexander, be, or be not, the sort of receptacle which historians teach us to believe did contain his body. Any one who had read even such a compilation as '*Purchas his pilgrims*,' and had therein found it stated, probably from Leo Africanus, that in *Alexandria* there "*yet remaineth a little chappell, wherein they say that the high prophet, and king Alexander the Great lies buried*," would surely have been curious to inquire what was really

* Dr. Zouch's opinion upon this subject occurs in a letter written by the present earl of Lonsdale to the Rev. J. Satterthwaite, of Jesus college, Cambridge, chaplain in ordinary to his majesty; who communicated it to the author. Although the testimony of such a scholar as Dr. Zouch (with whom the author had no personal acquaintance) be highly flattering, yet it is hoped that the insertion of it may be pardoned; as it alludes to a fact of some importance in the evidence concerning *Alexander's tomb*; namely, the remarkable allusion made to the *Soros* by JUVENAL, (who himself visited Egypt,) under the appellation of *Sarcophagus*.

Lord Lonsdale's letter is as follows; it was dated

"My Dear Sir,

"Coltesmere, Jan. 16, 1806.

"As Dr. Zouch's opinion of Dr. Clarke's history of the tomb of Alexander may not be unacceptable to you, I send you the following extract from a letter I received from him a few days ago."

'I have been much gratified with reading a history of the tomb of Alexander by Dr. Clarke, of Jesus College, Cambridge. Indeed, I scarcely laid down the volume until I had gone through it. He seems to have proved his point; at least to have rendered it highly probable that the precious monument deposited in the British museum is what he thinks it to be. I cannot but believe that *Juvenal* expressly alludes to this splendid tomb, in which the remains of the Macedonian hero were interred:

'Cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem.
Sarcophago contentus erit.'——

exhibited by the Arabs as the tomb of the founder of their city: and if, during its examination, this turn out to be nothing of Arabian workmanship, but in reality the particular kind of tomb which historians have actually ascribed to Alexander—a *Soros*, as it is mentioned by Herodian,* covered with hieroglyphics; being an inscription in the *sacred writing*† of the priests, by whom it had been more anciently guarded and revered;—if this prove to be the case, it will be found a very difficult matter to prevent the public from identifying such a relic, however unsuitable the consequence may be, to the views and feelings of any private individual, or set of individuals, belonging to the British museum. Powerful evidence bears down all opposition; it asks not for *opinion*; it demands *assent*.

It has, indeed, been urged, that other conditories of the same kind were found in Alexandria; one of a similar description being now placed with the Alexandrian *Soros* in the British Museum: but this is *not true*: and even if it were no other can lay claim to the tradition which so remarkably distinguished this. The other antiquities alluded to came from *Cairo*, and from *Upper Egypt*: that, in particular, now placed by the side of this, is the well-known cistern which was formerly called the “*Lover’s Fountain*,” and stood near to the castle of *Kallat el Kabsh* in *Grand Cairo*.‡ Other remains of the same nature, less perfectly preserved, came from *Upper Egypt*; whence they were brought by the French to *Alexandria*.

It had been somewhat loosely affirmed, that the Egyptians always buried their dead in an upright posture: and the author, noticing this egregious error in his “*Testimonies concerning Alexander’s Tomb*,” maintained that the opinion could neither be reconciled with the appearance of the tombs of the kings of *Thebes*, nor with the evidence afforded by the principal pyramid at *Memphis*.§ Since that publication appeared, Mr. Hamilton has incontestably proved that the affirmation was *loose indeed*, for that the Egyptians *never* buried

* In describing the visit paid to it by Caracalla, who placed upon it his purple vest;—ἵσθις τῷ βασιλεὺς ΣΟΡΩΙ. *Vid. Herodian. Hist. lib. iv. Hist. Rom. Script. ap. H. Steph. 1568.*

† Τὸς τῶ ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν. See the inscription on the Rosetta Stone.

‡ See a correct representation of it, as engraved in Bowyer’s work, entitled *Robert Ainslie’s Collection of Views in Egypt, &c. from drawings by Luigi Mayer.*

§ Tomb of Alexander. *Introd. p. 7. Camb. 1805.*

their dead in an upright posture.* A writer, however, in one of the *Monthly Journals*,† attacked the author for having disputed, although upon his own ocular demonstration, the *upright* position of the bodies. “Surely,” said he, “it will surprise the reader to learn, that one of the principal writers by whom the fact above alluded to has so *loosely been affirmed*, was Herodotus.” It might, indeed, surprise any reader, if this were true; but the assertion is groundless, and altogether founded upon the most glaring misconception of the text of that author; as it is not only admitted by every scholar, but decidedly manifested by the appearance of the bodies in the sepulchres of Egypt. Herodotus does not say that they were placed upright *in the tombs*, but in the *private houses* of the Egyptians,‡ after the persons employed to embalm the body had delivered it into the care of the relatives. It is well known that the Egyptians frequently kept the bodies of their dead, after the funeral rites were performed, for a long time in this manner in their dwellings. Sometimes they made them to be present at their feasts.§ And hence it is, that Herodotus, alluding to this practice, says, the relations take the body home, and place it in a chamber appropriated for its reception, *setting it upright against the wall.*”|| Upon these last words, the absurd notion was founded of its *upright position in the sepulchres of the country*: a notion entirely exploded, and contradicted by the evidence of the sepulchres themselves.

Upon reviewing the observations made upon the Grecian Theatres, the author is aware that they might have been more collectively disposed, instead of being dispersed in different parts of his work: but the business of a traveller requires, that he should register facts, rather than write dissertations: if his remarks be deemed worth preserving, others will not be wanted, hereafter, to collect the scattered materials, and give them a more connected form.

* See p. 164, note (*) of this Volume. See also *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, p. 317. *Lond.* 1809. “It was evident,” says Mr. Hamilton, “that the bodies had been placed *horizontally*, not *upright*: consequently the passage of Silius Italicus, quoted to assist the contrary supposition, must have alluded to the posture in which the deceased were kept, while yet retained in the houses of their relations.” The same is maintained by Pauw. *Philos. Diss.* vol. II. p. 39. *Lond.* 1795.

† See the Critical Review for July 1805. vol. V. No. 3. p. 276.

‡ See Pauw, *Philos. Dissert.* vol. II. p. 39. *Lond.* 1795.

§ ——— “Et à mensis exsanguem haud separat umbram.” *Sil. Ital. lib. 13.*

|| Ἰσάντες ὁρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχος. Herodot. *Hist. lib. II. c. 86.* p. 120. *ed.* 1679.

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CLARKE'S TRAVELS.



CHAP. I.

VOYAGE FROM SYRIA TO EGYPT.

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THE most active preparation for sailing was made upon our return to the *Romulus* frigate. Upwards of sixty bullocks were on board, and forty more were afterwards added to the number. Every exertion was then made to get in the necessary supply of fresh water. We bought great part of the freight of melons from the Jaffa boat, to carry to the fleet off Aboukir; and a more acceptable donation can hardly be imagined, for almost all its supplies came from England: fruit and vegetables were particularly scarce.

In our last visit to old Djezzar, we found his health visibly on the decline; but there was nothing he seemed more anxious to conceal from the knowledge of his subjects. The well-known fable of the dying lion was constantly present to his imagination; and no one better understood its moral applications. Like the generality of ancient fables, it is, in fact, strikingly applicable to the policy and manners

of Eastern nations.* Although the repose and stillness of his charem were better suited to the preservation of his life than the public duties of his palace, he knew too well the consequences of a rumour purporting his inability to transact the affairs of his government, and therefore more readily granted audience to persons requesting admission to his presence; continuing his usual practice of cutting watch-papers, but being less ostentatious of his bodily vigour, and the exhibition of his Herculean strength.† We found him, as before, with his feet bare, and a bottle of water by his side, but a more than ordinary covering of turbans appeared about his head and neck. Having thanked him for the many obligations he had conferred upon us, he inquired concerning our late journey, and seemed to possess great knowledge of the country, as well as some degree of information respecting its ancient history. Adverting to the dispute which took place between the author and one of the escort in the Plain of Esdraelon, (of which he had been informed,) he cautioned us against the imprudence of striking an Arab unless with power to put him instantly to death; adding, "If you had been any where but in Djezzar's dominions, and under his protection, you would not have lived to tell the story. I know the inhabitants of this country better than any man, and have long found that they are not to be governed by halves. I have been deemed severe; but I trust you have found my name respected, and even beloved, notwithstanding my severity." This last observation was strictly true; for, in spite of all his cruelty, such was the veneration in which they held the name of Djezzar in many parts of the Holy Land, that many of the Arabs would have sacrificed their lives for him. As we were about to take leave, he acknowledged, for the first time, that he did not feel himself well, and complained of want of sleep; asking us if we perceived any change in his health. His interpreter told us that he had never before known an instance of a similar confession; and augured, from this circumstance, that he would not long survive; which proved true, although his death did not immediately follow. His last moments were characteristic of his former life. The person whom he fixed upon for his successor, was among the number of his prisoners. Having sent for

* In the time of Aristophanes there were three kinds of fables; the Lybian, which were the most ancient, the Sybaritic, and the Æsopian.

† See p. 223, of the last volume.

this man, he made known his intentions to him; telling him at the same time, that he would never enjoy peaceful dominion while certain of the princes of the country existed. These men were then living as hostages in Djezzar's power. "You will not like to begin your reign," said he, "by slaughtering them; I will do that business for you:" accordingly, ordering them to be brought before him, he had them all put to death in his presence. Soon afterwards he died leaving, as he had predicted, the undisturbed possession of a very extensive territory to his successor, Ismael Pasha; described by English travellers, who have since visited Acre, as a very amiable man, and in every thing the very reverse of this Herod of his time.

After our last interview with Djezzar, we made a final survey of the town of Acre, particularly of its market, which is well supplied with most of the Eastern commodities. Cotton is the principal export. Its tobacco is very highly esteemed; and coarse muslins, remarkable for the durability of their dye, are sold very cheap. The inhabitants make use of pipes garnished with a swathing of silk or linen, for the purpose of absorbing water. This, being kept moist, cools the smoke, as it rises through the wooden tube, by the constant evaporation. It is a method of smoking less injurious than the Arab custom of using the *Hooka*, which generally consists of nothing more than a hollow gourd containing water, and two pieces of cane; but the whole of the smoke, instead of being drawn into the mouth, is thereby inhaled upon the lungs, and sometimes this practice causes asthma where it has been long continued.* Mariti, in the account of his journey from Acre to Mount Carmel, mentions the exportation to Venice of the sand of the river Belus, for the glass-houses of that city. "It is," says he,† "to

* Shaw mentions this custom. (*See Travels*, p. 234. *Lond.* 1757. *Note 9.*) He says the Arabs call it *Shrob el Doukhan*, that is to say, "*drinking of smoke.*" It is a universal practice, not only in the Levant, but over all the Mediterranean. Like other intoxicating habits, when once acquired, it is not readily abandoned. The effect produced resembles that of a dram; causing, at the moment, distention of the nerves and vessels of the head, particularly of the eyes. The Greek who travelled with us, after thus conveying all the smoke he could collect from a well-lighted pipe into his lungs, could retain it there for a few seconds, and sometimes drink a glass of water before he rendered back the smoke, in curling volumes, through his lips and nostrils. The Mahometans are so delighted by the effect of inhaling smoke, that when they have emptied their lungs of it, they exclaim, "*Alhandillah,*" *God be praised!*

† Mariti's *Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine*, vol. II. p. 124. *Lond.* 1791.

this river, Belus, that we are indebted for those magnificent plates of glass which Venice manufactured, to embellish the apartments of Europe." The Arabs call this river *Kardane*. We saw in Acre several individuals engaged in manufacturing the kind of Leather known in England under the vulgar appellation of *Red Morocco*; and as the whole process was publicly exhibited, it may be regretted we did not pay more attention to the articles made use of in preparing the die, which afforded the most lively and brilliant scarlet we had ever beheld. The skins were constantly exposed, during the operation, to the hottest beams of the sun, in the most sultry season of the year.

Before we quit this account of Acre, it will be proper to remark, that the two arches of a lofty building represented in the engraved view of the town, belong to the edifice noticed by Le Bruyn.* The pointed arches, so accurately delineated by that very able artist, have been a stumbling-block in the way of certain modern hypotheses concerning the origin of Gothic architecture.† But these are by no means the only examples of the pointed style in the Holy Land, erected anterior to the existence of such arches in England. The author has already enumerated others, which may be referred to the age of Justinian,‡ if not of Constantine. There are similar remains of equal antiquity in Cyprus and in Egypt. The ignorance which would ascribe such works to the labours of English workmen, in the time of the Crusades, when foreigners, or the pupils of foreigners, were employed in England, for every undertaking of the kind, so late as the reign of Henry the Eighth, is really lamentable; nor is it possible to devise a more fallible conjecture than that which attributes the origin of any style of architecture to the North of Europe; whence, as it is observed by a late entertaining writer,§ "nothing ever came but the sword and desolation." The statement of a few facts are sufficient, in an instant, to overturn such

* See the engraving in Le Bruyn's Travels.

† And will continue to be so. Acre was taken by the Saracens, A. D. 1291; the Christians have never been permitted to gain a footing there since that event; therefore the pointed arches noticed by Le Bruyn belong to an edifice which has been a ruin during the last six hundred and twenty years.

‡ The author of "*Munimenta Antiqua*," notices pointed arches in an aqueduct of Justinian. See Vol. IV. p. 75. Note 1. Lond. 1805. The pointed arch is also seen in aqueducts built by Trajan.

§ De Chateaubriand's Travels, Vol. II. p. 124. Lond. 1811.

visionary heresy. Not less than six Oriental cities may be enumerated, where this kind of architecture was formerly in use; these are, Nicotia, in Cyprus; Ptolemais, Dio Cæsarea, and Jerusalem, in the Holy Land; Rosetta, and Cairo, in Egypt. In all of these there are remains of the pointed style, which relate to a much earlier period than its introduction in England. A further acquaintance with Oriental architecture will, assuredly, bring to light many other instances than those which have now been adduced. Not but that the pointed style may have possessed, in the north of our island, a degree of antiquity greater than even the advocates for its English origin have ever dreamed of assigning to it. Masons were first brought into England by a monk, the preceptor of the venerable Bede, about the middle of the seventh century, together with the arts of painting and glazing.* About this time the monastery of Ely was founded, and the abbeys of Abingdon, Chertsey, and Barking were built.† The monastery of Gloucester was also established.‡ But before that time, Iona, upon the western coast of Scotland, was the seat of letters; the writings of Adamnanus, its abbot, have been often cited in these travels. There can be no doubt, therefore, but that an abbey church existed in that island prior to the foundation of the monastery at Ely. Adamnanus was born in the beginning of the seventh century,§ at Rathboth, now called Raphoe, in the county of Donegal, in Ireland; which country he left when he became abbot of Iona.|| As at that time the model of every Christian sanctuary was derived from the Holy Land, and generally from the church of the Holy Sepulchre,** where the pointed style may yet be discerned in the original covering of the Sepulchre itself,†† it is surely probable that Iona, whose abbot drew up so accurate an ac-

* "Benet the Monke, and maister of the reverend Reda, brought first the crafte of Painting, Glasing, and Masons, into this land." *Stow's Summary of the Chronicles of England*, pp 27, 28. *Lond.* 1598.

† *Stow's Summary of the Chronicles of England*, pp. 27, 28. *Lond.* 1598.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ A. D. 626.

|| Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Vol. IX. p 303. *Edin.* 1799.

** Witness the interesting, though almost unnoticed model of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, called "*the Round Church*," in Cambridge, built by the Knights of Jerusalem, and showing precisely the form of the building as it was in the seventh century. See the plan given by Adamnanus, *apud Mabilion. Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti. Sac. 3. Par. 2. p. 505. L. Par.* 1672.

†† See Pococke's *Travels*, and the Engravings already given in this work, vol. II.

count of all the holy places, would preserve something in imitation of its most sacred edifices. A short time previous to the journey which constitutes the subject of the present work, the author visited Iona: and, in the numerous vestiges of ecclesiastical splendor which he then observed in the rude bas-reliefs belonging to the sepulchral monuments of that island, the granite coffins, but, above all, the remains of the pointed Gothic style,* a traveller there might rather imagine himself viewing antiquities belonging to the Holy Land, and edifices erected by the mother of Constantine, than of an ecclesiastical establishment upon a small island in the Hebrides; upon an island, too, which was already thus distinguished, before the inhabitants of England could be said to be converted to Christianity; and at an era when the king of the East Angles was actually sending into Burgundy for missionaries to preach the Christian faith.† The state of Iona, indeed, at that period, can only be accounted for, from the intercourse which was then maintained with the Holy Land by all parts of the Christian world. As a seat of learning, Iona was so renowned, that its abbot was appointed to act as ambassador from Ireland to an English monarch.‡ It is well known that Bede borrowed his account of the Holy Land from Arculf's testimony, as afforded by Adamnanus. We may, therefore, with justice ask, Has it been proved, that, prior to the introduction of the Saxon arch in the southern provinces of our island, no instance of the pointed style adorned those ecclesiastical establishments in the north, which, having no connexion with the Saxons, erected their edifices at an earlier period, and after a different model? It is conceived that this question cannot be answered, by urging that the pointed style originated from the intersection of circular arches. The plain fact of the existence of pointed arches before the period assigned for their invention in England, is an existing and stubborn document, which no conjecture can supersede.§ How shall

* See Pennant's *Hebrides*, Plates xxii and xxiii. p. 253. *Chester*, 1774.

† Stow's *Summary*, &c. p. 27. *London*, 1598.

‡ Bede, as cited by Mabillon, mentions the embassy of Adamnanus to Eadfrith, (called Alfrid by Bede,) a king of the Northumbrians. This event took place a short time before the abbot's death, in 705. "*Adamnanum mortuum esse paullo post suam legationem ad Adfridum, anno dccv defunctum, teste Beda in lib. v. cap. 19. anno regni sui vicesimo necdum impleto.*" (Vid. Mabillon. *Acta Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. 3. Par. 2. p. 500. L. Par. 1672.*)

§ See the very recent but most satisfactory elucidation of this subject by the Rev. T. Kerrich, read before the Society of Antiquaries, May 11, 18,

we otherwise explain the appearance of pointed arches in Egypt and in the Holy Land, presented by the examples already alluded to? Even with reference to buildings of the twelfth century, particularly the remarkable instance afforded by the mosque and sepulchre of Sultan Zahir, near the eastern gate of Cairo,* will the historian, who records *facts* only, rest satisfied with this puerile *conjecture*, as to their origin; that the caliph, although an intolerant Mahometan, *perhaps employed* some Christian slaves for his workmen? Even supposing this were true, those men must have been supernaturally inspired with architectural knowledge for the undertaking.

Acre has been described as the scene of a very interesting story in English history, which is said, however, to have no foundation in truth. It is related by Speed,† that Elcanor, wife of Edward the First, drew the poison from her husband's arm when poniarded by an assassin, applying her lips to the wound. "Pitie it is," says Fuller,‡ "so pretty a storie should not be true, (with all the miracles in love's legends!) and sure he shall get himself no credit, who undertaketh to confute a passage so sounding to the honour of the sex: yet can it not stand with what others

and June 1, 1809, and since published in the XVIth volume of their *Archæologia*. Speaking of the supposed *English* origin of Gothic architecture, Mr. Kerrich says, "the late Mr. Gilpin, I believe, first broached this notion, (*See Gilpin's Northern Tour*, vol. I.) at least he first delivered it to the world in print: he had never been out of England; he was therefore excusable; but how people who had travelled, and had visited the other countries of Europe, could patronize such a notion, is really surprising; they must know, unless they voluntarily shut their eyes, that throughout the Low Countries, from St. Omer's to Cologne, *the old churches are all Gothic*; and many of them immense structures, and wonderfully beautiful; such as the cathedrals of Antwerp and Mechlin, St. Gudule's at Brussels, and St. Bavon's at Ghent, and numberless others. *The whole of France is covered with them*, from Calais to Lyons, and quite to the banks of the Rhine, where the cathedral of Strasburg is eminently light and beautiful. The cathedral and church of St. Nicaise at Rheims, the cathedrals of Amiens, Rouen, and Evreux, are also well known as buildings of extraordinary dimensions and elegance in this style of architecture. According to Ponz's *Voyage de Espana*, and the writings of other travellers, the case is the very same in every kingdom of Spain." Mr. Kerrich then proves its existence, and describes its remains, over all Germany and Italy. *See Observations on Gothic Buildings and Architecture*, by the Rev. T. Kerrich, principal Librarian of the University of Cambridge, M. A. F. S. A. *Archæologia*, Vol. XVI. p. 209, et seq. *Lond.* 1811.

* Vid. Museum Worsleyanum, p. 87. *Lond.* 1794. Caliph Zahir lived in the twelfth century.

† See Speed's Hist. of Edward the First.

‡ Fuller's Historie of the Holy Warre, book iv. chap. 29. p. 220. *Camb.* 1651.

have written,*—How the physician, who was to dresse his wounds, spake to the Lord Edmund and the Lord John Voysie, to take away Ladie Elenor out of the Prince's presence, lest her pitie should be cruel towards him, in not suffering his sores to be searched to the quick. And though she cried out, and wrung her hands, 'Madame, said they, be contented: it is better that one woman should weep a little while, than that all the realm of England should lament a great season:' and so they conducted her out of the place." The tradition, however, which, after all, is not disproved by the evidence Fuller has adduced, has given rise to one of the finest specimens of modern sculpture existing in the world;† and as it affords, perhaps, the only existing proof of the surprising abilities of an English artist snatched from the pursuit of fame in the very opening of a career which might have classed him with the best sculptors of ancient Greece, the author considers it a patriotic duty to pay some tribute to its merit, and thereby to the memory of its author.

Our voyage from Acre was as prosperous as the former one had been from Egypt. The serenity of the Mediterranean, at this season of the year, is surprisingly contrasted with the tremendous storms which accompany the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. We steered for Egypt with every sail extended, but were driven by such gentle breezes, that the motion of the frigate was scarcely perceptible. On the twenty-first of July, at seven o'clock, p. m. we were under weigh, and about ten came to anchor off Cape Carmel. The next morning, at four a. m. we made sail again, and continued our progress all that day and following night, without any occurrence worth notice. On the morning of July the twenty-fourth, at seven a. m. the island of Cyprus was visible, bearing n. n. w. distant ten or eleven leagues. At five a. m. of the following morning, the same island was still in view, and nearly at the same distance, bearing n. and by e.

* See Fox, Martyrolog. p. 337.

† The work of George Deare, who, at a very early period of life, attained to a very surprising degree of perfection in sculpture and design. He died a few years ago, at Rome, at the very time when the first proofs of his genius began to obtain the patronage necessary for its full development. The particular work alluded to, is a bas-relief, executed in the marble of Carrara. It was purchased by Sir Corbet Corbet, an English baronet, and belongs now to his collection. This brief allusion to a young artist, who would have been an honour to his country, is perhaps the only biographical document concerning him likely to be made public.

July the twenty-sixth, at seven P. M. we hailed the *Thisbe* frigate. This day, being Sunday, we accompanied captain Culverhouse to the gun-room, to dine there with his officers, according to his weekly custom. As we were sitting down to dinner, the voice of a sailor employed in heaving the lead was suddenly heard calling "*half four!*" The Captain, starting up, reached the deck in an instant; and almost as quickly putting the ship in stays, she went about. Every seaman on board thought she would be stranded. As she came about, all the surface of the water exhibited a thick black mud: this extended so widely, that the appearance resembled an island. At the same time, no land was really visible, not even from the mast-head, nor was there any notice of such a shallow in any chart on board. The fact is, as we learned afterwards, that a stratum of mud, extending for many leagues off the mouths of the Nile, exists in a moveable deposite near the coast of Egypt, and, when recently shifted by currents, it sometimes reaches quite to the surface, so as to alarm mariners with sudden shallows, where the charts of the Mediterranean promise a considerable depth of water. These, however, are not in the slightest degree dangerous. Vessels no sooner touch them, than they become dispersed; and a frigate may ride secure, where the soundings would induce an inexperienced pilot to believe her nearly aground. In the evening of this day we made land, and saw the eastern fort at the entrance of the Damietta branch of the Nile, bearing N. W. distant seven or eight miles.

July the twenty-seventh, at ten A. M. we were employed answering signals from the *Heroine*; and it was very interesting to us landsmen, to observe the facility with which the commanders of frigates, separated from each other by such an immense distance that their vessels were scarcely visible to the naked eye, held a conversation with each other. We had calm weather with light breezes during this and the following day: no land visible. July the twenty-ninth, observed a strange cutter to leeward, and land, bearing S. W. and by S. supposed to be Cape Brule, distant six or seven miles. July the thirtieth, about three P. M. we made land from the mast head, which proved to be *Cape Berelos*, bearing S. S. W. distant about ten or twelve miles, the town of Rosetta being at the same time W. and by S. half S. distant ten or eleven miles.

July the thirty-first, a calm and a strong current compelled us to anchor east of Rosetta, in five fathoms and a half water. On the following morning, being the first of August, at seven A. M. weighed, and made sail. At four P. M. saw the fleet off Aboukir, and plainly observed the admiral's ship. The same evening, at eight o'clock, came to anchor nearly in the station held by the *Romulus* previous to her sailing for the coast of Syria. Here we received the joyful intelligence concerning the surrender of Caïro; of which reports had reached us in Syria. Presently after, captain Clarke came alongside, in the *Braakel's* barge, when taking leave of our kind friends, we sought once more, as it were, a comfortable home, within his cabin.

We had not been here many days, before the *Braakel* received orders from the admiral, lord Keith, to convoy the French prisoners captured at Rachmanie and the different forts upon the Nile, including the garrison of Caïro, to Marseilles; and, at the same time, to take in as many of those prisoners as possible, with their artillery, arms, baggage, &c. and sail with all possible expedition. So rapid were the measures adopted by captain Clarke for this purpose, that he was ready before any of the other vessels appointed to convey the prisoners had obtained their cargo; and, making the signal for sailing to all the convoy, he was ordered to proceed on his voyage, without waiting for the other ships. The scene which ensued on board the *Braakel*, upon the arrival of the French prisoners, baffles every effort of description. No strolling players in a barn ever presented a more ludicrous exhibition, or a better burlesque of the military character. Voltaire, dressed in a pasteboard helmet, with a laced coat and long dirty ruffles, to represent, in one of his own plays, the person of Alexander the Great, was a hero, compared with some of the figures from the French army. There were many who made their appearance upon the quarter-deck with the most ghastly visages, beneath helmets of all colours, covered with horses' tails hanging about their wrinkled cheeks and shrugged up shoulders. Every one imagined he should testify a proper degree of spirit, and perhaps ingratiate himself with a British crew, by the ejaculation of some English oath, as soon as he set his foot upon the deck. When they were all drawn up, in three lines, to be reviewed, and assigned to their respective births, some of them were found to be abandoned women,

wretchedly dressed in tattered habits of French soldiers. Other females, more pitiable, came also in men's clothes; but these were Georgian and Circassian girls, once the unfortunate tenants of Turkish charems, and since the more lamentable slaves of the lowest rabble of the French army. They were desirous to go any where, rather than remain in Egypt. In that country they were sure of being put to death, by the first Moslem they might encounter.

As soon as matters were a little adjusted, and the wounded men taken care of, among whom there were some in such terrible condition that they died upon the following day, a deputation from the prisoners waited upon the captain to offer him the use of a band of music every day during dinner, and requesting permission to exhibit a *club-d'armes*, for fencing every morning, and a *comédié* every evening. Never was there any thing to equal the gayety and good humour of these Frenchmen. All animosity was laid aside; singing, dancing, and acting, became the order of the day; even the wounded, when able to come upon deck, showed some signs of the joy which animated their comrades in the thoughts of returning to France. They would do any thing to gratify the English officers and men. Sometimes, when their band played "*God save the king*," the members of the theatrical party, in the fore-castle, sang out, in broken English, "*Send him victorious!*"

The moment came, however, which was to create a pause in all this mirth. The Braakel got under weigh: and a stiff gale causing more motion than suited either the *club d'armes* or the *comédié*, every Frenchman was indisposed. Nothing then was heard but groans and curses. All the instruments were out of tune, and the deck was soon destitute of every other symptom of activity, except that which was manifested by the ship's crew. It had been captain Clarke's intention, in tacking out of Aboukir Roads, to put us on board the Sultan Selim, the famous three-decker, belonging to the Capudan Pasha, with whom we were acquainted; but this proved impracticable. To our very great consternation, we found ourselves, on the morning of the seventh of August, so far advanced in the voyage to France, that we were already out of sight of the fleet. The captain told us there was only this alternative, to go with him to Marseilles, or to accept of a small boat, which he would willingly give us, and run before the wind to the Mouth of the Nile. The tur-

bulent appearance of the sea did not at all tempt us to try so hazardous an experiment as the last; for if we had done this, and had escaped the consequences of our own ignorance among mountainous waves, we should inevitably have perished in the surf upon the coast. We, therefore, could only lament the loss of our intended journey in Egypt, and retire into the cabin with general La Grange, to whom we made known our very embarrassing situation. While we were thus ruminating upon the unexpected change in all our plans, a cry upon deck announced that a sail was in sight, standing towards Aboukir. This proved to be the *Diadem*, a 64 gun ship, captain Larmour, from Cyprus, with wood and water, which presently drew near to us, and was hailed from the *Braakel*. We requested a passage to the fleet: this was granted, and with some difficulty we got on board. Here we found colonel Capper, the bearer of overland despatches from India to the British army in Egypt. He gave us an account of his very arduous expedition: and communicated some interesting particulars, concerning the existence of ancient Pagan superstitions in Mount Libanus, particularly those of Venus. These were alluded to in the preceding volume;* and as a renewal of the subject here might be deemed irrelevant, the author has reserved his observations upon colonel Capper's discovery for the Appendix:† it relates to a very interesting relique of the ancient mythology of Syria.

Upon our return to the fleet, captain Larmour accompanied colonel Capper to the Admiral's ship; and we revisited the *Ceres*, where we found our valuable friend captain Russell, to the great grief of his officers and crew, and all who had the happiness of knowing him, in such a state of indisposition as put an end to every hope of his recovery. We had much difficulty in obtaining a passage to Rosetta on board one of the *djermes*, or boats belonging to the Nile; but at length permission was granted us to sail in one of these vessels, from the *Eurus*, captain Guion, who treated us with that politeness we had so often experienced from the officers of the British navy. We left the Bay of Aboukir, August the eighth, about ten o'clock, A. M. As we drew near to the Rosetta mouth of the Nile, we observed that the

* See Vol. II. p. 246. Note 3.

† See the Appendix to this volume, No. II.

signal-boat was not out.* So many lives had been lost upon the bar by not attending to this circumstance,† and such positive injunctions issued by the commander-in-chief against attempting to pass when the signal was removed, that we supposed that the Arabs belonging to the djerm would take us back to the fleet. The wind was, however, against our return; and the crew of the boat persisted in saying that a passage was practicable. It was accordingly attempted; but the surf soon drove us back, and we narrowly escaped being overwhelmed by it. A second attempt was then made, nearer to the eastern side of the river's mouth. We prevailed upon some English sailors, who were on board, to let the Arabs have their own way, and not interfere with the management of the djerm, however contrary it might seem to their usual maxims. Never was there a more fearful sight, nor a scene of greater confusion, than ensued when we reached the middle of the tremendous surf a second time. The yells of the Arabs, the oaths of the sailors, the roaring of the waters, the yawning gulfs occasionally disclosing to us the bare sand upon the bar, while we were tossed upon the boiling surf, and, to complete the whole, the spectacle afforded by another djerm swamped and wrecked before our eyes, as we passed with the velocity of lightning, unable to render the least assistance, can never be forgotten. We had often read accounts of dangerous surf, in books of voyages, but entertained no notion in any degree adequate to the horrors which mariners encounter in such a situation; nor is there any instance known of a more frightful surf than this river sometimes exhibits, by its junction with the Mediterranean. No sooner had we gained a certain point, or tongue of land, advancing from the eastern shore of the river towards the north-west, than a general shout from the Arabs announced that every danger was over:—presently we sailed as serenely along as upon the calmest surface of any lake. The distance of the mouth of the Nile from the

* During the Egyptian expedition, a boat with a signal-flag was always anchored on the outside of the mouth of the Nile, when the surf upon the bar was passable.

† Scarcely a day elapsed, during our first visit to Rosetta, in which some lives were not sacrificed, owing to the inattention paid to the signal. It was even asserted, that the loss of men at the mouth of the Nile, including those both of the army and navy, who were here sacrificed, was greater than the total of our loss in all the engagements that took place with the French troops in Egypt.

station of the British armament is considerable; but while we remained at anchor in the Bay of Aboukir, we could perceive the ships stationed near the *Bocaz*; and in like manner we here observed the masts of the fleet in the bay.

As we entered the Nile, we were amused by seeing an Arab fishing with the sort of net called in England a *casting-net*: this, without any difference either in shape, size, or materials, he was throwing exactly after our manner, which affords reasonable evidence of the antiquity of the custom. Pelicans appeared in great numbers at the mouth of the river; also that kind of porpoise which is called dolphin in the Levant; this may be seen sporting in the Nile, as high up as the town of Rosetta. The first object, after entering the Rosetta branch, is the Castle, or Fort of St. Julian. In digging for the fortifications of this place, the French discovered the famous Triple Inscription, now in the British Museum;* this will be ever valuable, even if the only information obtained from it were confined to a solitary fact—that the hieroglyphic characters do exhibit *the writing of the priests* of Egypt.† This truth will no longer be disputed; therefore the proper appellation for inscriptions in such characters ought to be *Hierograms*, rather than *Hieroglyphs*. A surprising number of Turkish gun-boats were stationed opposite to this fort, at the time we passed; and when the beautiful prospect of Rosetta opened to our view, the whole surface of the river, in front of the town, appeared also covered with gun-boats and with djerms.

Upon our arrival, at five o'clock P. M. we found an amusing proof of the effect of war annihilating all civil distinctions. The house we had formerly occupied was full of sailors, soldiers, and other tenants; our apartments had been converted into *harems*, and were filled with Georgian, Circassian, and Egyptian girls; these we found sitting unveiled upon the floor; some working embroidery, others chattering and laughing. One of them, a beautiful female, taken from a tribe of Bedouin Arabs, exhibited a fine countenance disfigured with those blue scars which were described in the account of Bethlehem. They were marks, as she pretended, which entitled her to very high consideration among the Arabs of the Desert. These women had been presents from

* See p. 184, chap. X. of the last Volume.

† See the words of the Greek inscription upon that stone, ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΠΑΜΜΑΡΙΝ.

the French prisoners to the officers and men of our army and navy. They appeared to be as much at home, and as tranquil, in the protection of their new masters, as if they had been thus settled for life. The most lamentable part of the story is, that when our people were compelled to abandon them, they were certain of being murdered by the Mahometans. A woman who has admitted the embraces of a Christian is, never afterwards pardoned. It is lawful, and deemed laudable, for the first Turk or Arab who meets with her, to put her instantly to death. In this scene of confusion we were constrained to take up our abode; there being no alternative, until we could complete our preparations for a voyage up the Nile to Grand Cairo. Indeed, we had reason to be thankful for such accommodations, considering the disordered state of affairs at that time in Rosetta. We hired a djerm the evening of our arrival; and made application the next day, August 9th, to the commissary of the army, for his permission to purchase provisions in the market. This we had great difficulty in obtaining. The commissary seemed to consider, and with reason at that critical juncture, every application which did not relate to the business of the army as an unwarrantable intrusion. Some degree of rudeness, however, in the manner of his refusal, struck us the more forcibly, as we had experienced the greatest civilities from his worthy predecessor, who had recently fallen a victim to the effects of the climate. Having urgent letters of recommendation from the commanders-in-chief, both of the army and of the navy, we made our situation known to Mr. Wills, purser of captain Russell's ship, the *Ceres*, then acting as commissary for the fleet, who interested himself warmly in our behalf. To his kindness we were indebted for being able to prosecute our intended voyage with expedition as well as with comfort; and, indeed, without his aid we should not have been allowed the use even of the djerm which we had engaged for the undertaking.

We employed the remainder of this day in fitting up a kind of tent, or cabin, by means of mats and the branches of palm-trees, upon the stern of our vessel, lining it with our mosquito nets, to protect us from the swarm of those insects upon the river. The inundation had begun, and the rapidity of the current was thereby exceedingly increased. The price of every article of provision had become very high, since our last visit to Rosetta. For half a pound of tea we were

obliged to pay near two pounds sterling. The difference between the markets of this place and Damiata was astonishing, considering the short distance that separated the two towns. This will appear in stating the value of a dollar; which, in Rosetta, was equivalent, either to half a sheep, or to three geese, or four fowls, or an hundred eggs. In Damiata, for the same sum, might be purchased, either two sheep, six geese, twelve fowls, or eight hundred eggs. The coffee of Mocha, when Rosetta was first captured, might be obtained almost for nothing; but it had been all sold, and a great quantity went in presents to England. One of the most curious sights in Rosetta was the manufacture of this article. After roasting the coffee, it is pounded in immense iron mortars; three Arabs working at a time, with enormous pestles, each as large as a man can raise. The capacity of the bottom of the mortar being only equal to the reception of one of these at a time, the pestles are raised according to the measure of an air sung by an attendant Arab, who sits near the mortar. The main purport of this curious accompaniment to their labour is, to prevent the hand and arm of a boy, kneeling by the mortar, from being crushed to atoms. The boy's arm is always within the receiver, which, being hollowed in the shape of a cone, allows room for each pestle to pass in turn without bruising him, if he place it in time against the side of the mortar; but, as after every stroke he must stir up the powder at the bottom with his fingers, if the precise period of each blow were not marked by the measure of the song, his arm would be struck off. Intoxication, happily, is a vice with which the Arabs are unacquainted; for, as the constant attention of a whole party, thus employed, is necessary to the safety of the poor child, so stationed, it may be conceived what the consequences of drunkenness would be, in a manufactory where many of these mortars are used. A sight of this process is sufficient to explain the cause of the very impalpable nature of the powder used by the Turks in their coffee: the infusion more resembles the appearance of chocolate, than of coffee as we prepare it in England.

After visiting this manufactory, we went to see a building of very great, although of unknown, antiquity, used as a warehouse for keeping stores. It has a vaulted stone roof, with the remarkable appearance of pointed arches, resulting from the intersection of palm-branches: the trunks of the

trees, whence these ramifications proceed, beautifully sculptured, are represented as stationed in the four corners, and by the sides of the vaulted chamber. This curious relique has never been noticed nor described by any author; therefore it is impossible to conjecture either the age of the building, or any thing concerning its history. Quaresmius is altogether silent upon the subject. He says only of ancient Rosetta, that it was called SCHEIDA; and its present appellation, *Raschid*, is familiar to every school-boy acquainted with the entertaining tales of its caliph, Aaron: possibly, therefore, the vaulted edifice may be referred to this famous sultan *Haroun al Raschid*, in the eighth century. Rosetta may soon become a place of much more importance than it is at present, in consequence of the total cessation of pilgrimages to Mecca. The Wahabee Arabs have destroyed all the wells which formerly supplied the caravans with water; and nothing less than an army is necessary for their restoration.* Quaresmius, in mentioning the estimation wherein Rosetta, as the birth-place of Mahomet, is held by the Moslems, long ago predicted, that whenever the journeys to Mecca were interrupted, it would become the resort of Mahometan pilgrims.† For the reception of such a multitude, Rosetta is much better provided than Mecca; for it is attested by all travellers,‡ and among these by our countryman Sandys,§ that “no place under heaven is better furnished with graine, flesh, fish, sugar, fruits, roots,” together with all other necessities and luxuries of life.

During our former visit to Rosetta, we neglected to notice the particular day of the year|| on which a most singular ex-

* “It is now five years since the Wahabees have prevented the pilgrims from performing their journey to Mecca. They have destroyed the cisterns in the Desert; and it is impossible to have these repaired without sending an army to protect the workmen. This condition will hardly ever be fulfilled, as there are not more than 10,000 soldiers in all Syria; and the Wahabee chief has, at any time, more than 100,000 men mounted on camels, at his disposal. The interruption of this pilgrimage is considered by the Turks as a sign of the approaching desolation of the Turkish empire.” *MS. Letter from Burckhardt, the African traveller, dated Aleppo, May 3, 1811.*

† “Fertur in partibus illis, ex ea civitate originem traxisse Mahometem, pseudo-prophetam Turcarum et aliorum Infidelium caput; ac ideò illam magnæ æstimant. Quare, si Mecha, ubi sepulchrum dicitur esse Mahometis, a Christianis caperetur, et ad illud interdicta esset ipsorum peregrinatio, Rosetum peregrinarentur.” *Quaresm. Etuc. T. S. tom. II. p. 1098. Antv. 1639.*

‡ “In optima uberique regione sita, omni bonorum genere ad opulente vivendum affluente, carnibus, piscibus, fructibus, &c.” *Ibid.*

§ Sandys' Travels, p. 166. *Lond. 1637.*

|| Denou says this exhibition takes place during the annual procession of

hibition of the *Serpent-eaters*, or *Psylli*, as mentioned by Herodotus* and by many ancient authors,† took place. A tumultuous throng, passing beneath the windows of our house, attracted our attention towards the quay : here we saw a concourse of people following men apparently frantic, who, with every appearance of convulsive agony, were brandishing live serpents, and then tearing them with their teeth ; snatching them from each other's mouths, with loud cries and distorted features, and afterwards falling into the arms of the spectators, as if swooning ; the women all the while rending the air with their lamentations. Pliny often mentions these jugglers;‡ and as their tricks have been noticed by other travellers, it is only now necessary to attest the existence of this extraordinary remnant of a very ancient custom.

the Feast of Ibrahim, at Rosetta. He regretted not having been there at the time. See *Denon's Travels, Eng. edit. vol. 1. p. 123. Lond. 1803.*

* Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 173.

† Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. Lucan. ix. vv. 894, 937. Pausan. lib. ix. c. 14. Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 14. Aul. Gell. lib. xvi. c. 11. &c. &c.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. c. 2. lib. viii. c. 25. lib. xxv. c. 10. lib. xxviii. c. 3.

CHAP. II.

VOYAGE UP THE NILE TO GRAND CAIRO.

Example afforded by a naval Officer—Inaccuracy in the Maps of Egypt—Triple Harvest of the Delta—Mode of raising Water from the Nile—Summer Habits of the Egyptian Arabs—FICUS SYCAMORUS—Etesian Winds—MOTUBIS—Dancing Women—DEBE—SINDION and DERRUL—Turkish Cavalry—Arab Customs—FOUA—RACHMANIE—Description of the Country—Diseases—Facility of visiting Upper Egypt—KOUM SCHERIFF—AMRUS—Birds—Singular Animal Appearance—Plants—EL BUREDGIAT—Remarkable Phenomenon—Tumblers—Abundance of Corn—Southern Point of the Delta—Arrival at BULAC—View of the Pyramids—Visit to the Reis Effendi—House of the French Institute—Jewel Market—Interior of Cairo—Jugglers—Trees—Incense—Gum Arabic—Plagues of Egypt—Statistics of Cairo—British Army from India—Dinner given by the Commander-in-chief—Discovery made by Brahmins in Upper Egypt—Examination of an Abyssinian concerning Bruce's Travels—Fidelity of that Traveler's Observations confirmed.

WE left Rosetta on Monday, August the tenth, at seven A. M. and called upon captain Hillyar, who had the command of some gun-boats to the south of the town, and whom we found stationed upon the river, on board one of those vessels. His late arduous services, in several engagements with the enemy, were then the subject of very general conversation. The Capudan Pasha, in testimony of the gratitude of the Turkish Government, had conferred upon him some trifling presents. But that which particularly excited the wonder of all his contemporaries, and which will convey the name of Hillyar to posterity, with honours more lasting than even those obtained by his valour and his victories, was the example offered by this distinguished officer to the navies of the world, in proving the possibility of fighting the battles of his country, and maintaining unrivalled discipline among his crew, without the utterance of an oath by any man on board the ship he commanded.

We had convincing evidence of inaccuracy in our best maps of the Delta, and of the course of the Nile, from the earliest comparisons we made in the country. That of Kauffer, published at Constantinople in 1799, is extremely incorrect; but it is less so than preceding documents. Soon after leaving Rosetta, we passed some extensive canals, conveying water to lands above the level of the river: these are supplied by wheels, sometimes turned by oxen, but more generally by buffaloes. They are banked by very lofty walls, constructed of mud hardened by the sun. One of them, upon the western side of the river, extended to the Lake Maadie. The land, thus watered, produces three crops in each year; the first of clover, the second of corn, and the third of rice. The rice-grounds are inundated from the time of sowing nearly to harvest; the seed is commonly cast upon the water, a practice twice alluded to in Sacred Scripture. Balaam prophesied of Israel,* that "his seed should be in many waters." In the directions given for charity by the son of David, it is written,† "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days." When the rice-plants are about two feet high, they are transplanted. Beside the method of raising water into the high grounds near the river, by means of buckets fastened to a wheel, where the land is not much elevated above the surface of the Nile, they use a simple, and probably a very ancient contrivance,‡ of lifting it in a basket lined, perhaps, with close matting, or with leather. Two men, holding the basket between them, by a cord in each hand fastened to the edge of it, lower it into the Nile, and then swing it between them until it acquires a velocity sufficient to enable them to throw the water, over a bank, into a canal near the river. The regular continuance of their motion gives them, at a distance, the appearance of automaton figures, rather than of living beings. They work stark naked, exposed to the sun's most powerful rays, during the whole day; repeating one of their Arabian songs; for they seem to have a peculiar air adapted to every labour. As to their summer cloth-

* Numbers, xxiv. 7.

† Ecclesiastes, xi. 1.

‡ Those who are interested in tracing resemblances between the customs of the Chinese and Egyptians, may be informed that this manner of irrigating land, which certainly possesses something of singularity, is practised upon the rivers in China, without the smallest difference. An engraved representation of it is given in the account of Lord Macartney's Embassy. See vol. II. p. 359. *Lond.* 1797.

ing, when they wear any, it consists only of a blue cotton shirt, girded by a belt round the waist. The Arabs whom we saw occasionally near the river, whether alone, or in company, made their appearance without any kind of covering. Sometimes they were seen in parties of ten or twelve at a time, walking together, young and old, as naked as they were born, without seeming sensible of any indecency in their appearance.

Fahrenheit's thermometer, observed in the shade, this day at noon, indicated a temperature of ninety degrees. Our course, by a very good boat-compass, given to us by captain Clarke of the *Braakel*, was at that time south, half east. In half an hour we found it to be east and by north. We observed several trees of a very singular form: they resembled, by the spreading of their boughs, the shape of a fan, and looked at a distance like enormous peacocks with their tails expanded. As we drew near and examined them, they proved to be, every one of them, the *Ficus Sycamorus*, or *Sycamore Fig*; and of this species, although so common in Egypt, there was scarcely a single specimen in any British herbarium, until our return to England. It attains an enormous size near Caïro; particularly in the Isle of Rhouda, where some of those trees appear larger than the stateliest oaks of our forests. The fruit resembles the common fig in shape; but it is smaller, very dry, insipid, and rarely eaten. The peculiar form of the trees in this part of Egypt is owing entirely to the north and northwest, or *Etesian* winds, which prevail with much violence, and for a considerable length of time, during the months of July and August. As this monsoon happens annually, at the period of the Nile's inundation, the wonderful advantages it offers for the commerce of the country exceed any thing perhaps known upon earth. A vessel, leaving Rosetta, is driven by it with extraordinary velocity against the whole force of the torrent to Caïro, or into any part of Upper Egypt. For the purpose of her return, with even greater rapidity, it is only necessary to take down mast and sails, and leave her to be carried against the wind by the powerful current of the river. It is thus possible to perform the whole voyage, from Rosetta to Bulâc, the quay of Caïro, and back again, with certainty, in about seventy hours; a distance equal to four hundred miles.*

* Shaw makes the distance from Rosetta to Caïro equal to 200 miles. See *Shaw's Travels*, p. 294. *Land. 1762*

At half past one P. M. we came in view of *Motubis*, sometimes written *Metubis*, or *Metabis*,* famous or infamous for those dancing women called *Almehs*, which, however, are common in most parts of Egypt. When the French army marched to Cairo, General Menou halted here, in the true spirit of French licentiousness, pretending business with the sheiks, but in reality to gratify himself and his soldiers by the disgusting exhibition of these prostitutes. The sheiks of the place wished to be spared, even in *Motubis*, the degradation attending a public display of these dances, and raised difficulties against their attendance; but, says Denon,† “the presence of the generals, and especially of two hundred soldiers, removed the obstacles.” In order to heighten the dissoluteness of this Canopic festival, brandy was administered to the women in large glasses, which, says the same writer, they drank like lemonade. If, therefore, in the scene that followed, something revolting, even to the feelings of a French army, ensued, it should have been deemed rather characteristic of the Parisian rabblement who were present, than of the natural habits of the people of the country. As we approached *Motubis*, our course altered from south-east to south-west. According to Kauffer’s map, the course is south-east towards this place from Rosetta. We arrived at two o’clock P. M. and observed here some troops of English cavalry; but continued our voyage without landing. Opposite to the town of *Motubis*, but farther towards the south, stands *Débé*. The generality of these towns upon the banks of the Nile are small, but there is a pleasing variety in their appearance; for they have no resemblance to each other, although all of them are shaded by groves of date and sycamore. We passed *Sindion* and *Der-râl*, two towns opposite to each other, on different sides of the river. At *Sindion* we had the pleasing sight of a party of Turkish cavalry upon their march; and were awhile amused by considering the gratification their appearance would afford, if we could have removed them, in their full costume, to one of the London theatres. They had their colours flying; yellow and green. Passing through the vil-lages, they continued to beat small kettle-drums; proceeding always by a sluggish pace, with their knees up to their chins, evidently annoyed by a situation so hostile to their natural

* See Denon’s Travels, vol. I, p. 77. Lond. 1803.

† Ibid. p. 78.

indolence as that in which a certain degree of active exertion was unavoidable. Their ludicrous appearance was a source of mirth to the cavalry of the French army, even in the heat of battle; among whom the order of a charge was frequently expressed, with their natural levity, by the words "*Bas les Pastèques!*" *Down with the Water-melons!* alluding to the appearance presented by the bulky swathing of their large turbans, which give to their heads something of a similitude to that enormous kind of fruit; and it was a sound of which the Moslems rarely awaited the result, but fled as soon as they heard it, in the utmost disorder.

The Arab crew of our boat washed their hands, faces, and teeth, before and after eating; cleaning their teeth with wood ashes, which they collected for that purpose from the fire for boiling our kettle. The common fuel used by the inhabitants of the country is prepared from a mixture of camel's dung, mud, and straw: these ingredients, being mixed as a paste, they collect into balls, which are flattened upon the walls of their huts for drying in the sun, and made into circular cakes. From the ashes of those cakes the muriate of ammonia is obtained, which is afterwards sent to Europe. The process is briefly and perspicuously described by Shaw, in the Appendix to his Travels.* About four miles to the south of Sindion, the Nile had overflowed its banks, and was making rapid progress over the adjoining fields. It began to rise upon the seventeenth day of June. The canal of Cairo was cut upon the eighth of August, the day of our arrival at Rosetta from the Holy Land, with the usual observance of public festivity; the Nile having then attained its proper height. After this, all the banks were cut, and dykes opened, to receive the inundation, from Cairo to the sea.† Our course here was E. N. E. towards the village of Foua, falsely marked as a town in all the maps. Soon afterwards steered south-east, and passed that village.

* Collectanea, No. X. p. 480. Shaw's Travels. Lond. 1757.

† The reader may, perhaps, be curious to know what the symptoms are in the Nile (when at the lowest ebb) denoting the incipient flood. We were in Rosetta at the precise period for making the observation. This happened upon the sixteenth of May. For several days before, the water in the river was very shallow, and seemed to stagnate. The smell of it was like that of an unwholesome pool, and its surface became partly covered with a green slime. By attentively observing it about this time, a number of little whirlpools, not more than an inch in diameter, might be occasionally noticed, suddenly becoming visible, and as suddenly disappearing. The Arabs pointed to these as the earliest indications of the coming flood.

It is opposite to Rachmanie, now celebrated as the scene of action between our troops and those of the enemy under General Le Grange. This officer was raised by Bonaparte from the ranks : high respect is due to him for his conduct upon many occasions ; but, in particular, for his subsequent humane and exemplary treatment of the wife of one of our commanders in the West Indies, who became his prisoner while her husband was engaged with him in the warmest hostilities. If it be a christian duty to love our enemies, it is doubly incumbent upon every Englishman to cherish the memory of actions which thus exalt the character of a soldier to that of a hero. The English flag was flying upon the castle of the fortress of Rachmanie ; and a party of our troops was stationed there, to guard the town. We spoke to some Irish soldiers, asking them the hour ; and were much amused by the reply : " To be sure, at sunset is it not half past four ? " Opposite to Rachmanie there is a small island, in the middle of the river. A large vessel with three masts was stationed near the town. The Nile is here very broad, and the current was at this time prodigiously rapid ; yet the force of the Etesian wind enabled us to stem it, and to proceed with very great velocity. Villages, in an almost uninterrupted succession, denoted a much greater population than we had imagined the country contained. Upon each side of the river, as far as the eye could survey, were rich fields of corn and rice, with such beautiful groves, seeming to rise out of the watery plains, and to shade innumerable settlements in the Delta, amidst never-ending plantations of melons and all kinds of garden vegetables, that, from the abundance of its produce, Egypt may be deemed the richest country in the world. Such is the picture exhibited to the native inhabitants, who are seasoned to withstand the disorders of the country, and can bear with indifference the attacks of myriads of all sorts of noxious animals ; to whom mud and moschetoes, or dust and vermin, are alike indifferent ; who, having never experienced one comfortable feeling in the midst of their highest enjoyments, nor a single antidote to sorrow in the depths of wretchedness, vegetate, like the bannas and sycamores around them. But to strangers, and particularly to inhabitants of northern countries, where wholesome air and cleanliness are among the necessities of life, Egypt is the most detestable region upon earth. Upon the retiring of the Nile, the country is one vast swamp. An atmosphere, impregnated with

every putrid and offensive exhalation, stagnates, like the filthy pools over which it broods. Then the plague regularly begins, nor ceases until the waters return again.* Throughout the spring, intermitting fevers universally prevail. About the beginning of May certain winds cover even the sands of the desert with the most disgusting vermin.† The latest descendants of Pharaoh are not yet delivered from the evils which fell upon the land, when it was smitten by the hands of Moses and Aaron: the “plague of frogs,” the “plague of lice,” the “plague of flies,” the “murrain, boils, and blains,” prevail, so that the whole country is “corrupted,” and “THE DUST OF THE EARTH BECOMES LICE, UPON MAN AND UPON BEAST, THROUGHOUT THE LAND OF EGYPT.” This application of the words of Scripture affords a literal exposition of existing facts; such a one as the statistics of the country do now warrant.‡ In justification of this statement, it is only necessary to appeal to the testimony of all those who have resided in the country during the very opposite seasons of its prosperity and privation; during the inundation, and when the flood has retired; or before it takes place, in the beginning of the year. At the period of the overflow, persons who drink the water become subject to the disorder called “prickly heat:” this often terminates in those dreadful wounds alluded to in Scripture, by the words “boils and blains.” During the months of June, July, and August, many individuals are deprived of sight, by a disease of the eyes peculiar to this country, and which, having no other name for, Europeans have called *Ophthalmia*, from the organs it afflicts. There was hardly an individual who did not suffer, more or less, the consequences of this painful malady. It commences with a sensation as if grains of sand had been blown into the eyes, which no care can remove.‡ At this season, also, the dysentery begins to number its victims; and although some are fortunate enough to escape the worst effects of this disorder,

* General Le Grange assured us, when on board the *Brankel*, that the ravages in the French army, caused by the plague during the month of April, at one time amounted to a hundred men in a single day.

† Sir Sidney Smith informed the Author, that one night, preferring a bed upon the sand of the desert to a night's lodging in the village of Etoko, as thinking to be secure from vermin, he found himself, in the morning, entirely covered by them. Lice and scorpions abound in all the sandy desert near Alexandria.

‡ It is said even yet to exist in this country, as a contagious disorder brought by our army from Egypt.

it proves fatal in many instances.* A traveller may escape most of these evils by proper attention: and if he visit the country so as to profit by the Etesian winds at the time of the inundation, and hires a djerm for his constant residence upon the river, he may venture into Upper Egypt, and visit Thebes with greater ease and comfort than he ever performed any other expedition. The never-failing monsoon will carry him along, sitting in a cool and comfortable cabin, with every convenience for reading or writing; for food, or rest; and the current of the river alone will operate as favourably for his return. We considered the time we passed upon the Nile as the most pleasing part of all our travels;—that which was required by our residence on shore the most disagreeable; notwithstanding the very commodious lodgings we had, whether in the cities of Rosetta, Cairo, or Alexandria.

After passing Rachmanie, darkness compelled us to take leave of the very interesting landscape which had continually gratified us during the day. We continued sailing almost the whole night, under the care and guidance of our steady pilot at the helm, who, as captain of the djerm, remained at his post until morning dawned. Four men, beside himself, constituted the whole crew; these were all Arabs. During the time they remained in our service, we found them diligent, industrious, faithful, always sober, obliging, and skilful in the management of their vessel. When daylight appeared, upon Saturday, August the eleventh, they told us they had anchored for some time at a village, fearful of being boarded by pirates during the extreme darkness that prevailed, especially as the light burning in our cabin rendered the djerm visible from the sides of the river. About eight o'clock, A. M. we reached a miserable town, called *Koum*, or *Komme Scheriff*, built entirely with mud. Soon afterwards we passed the town of *Amrus*, also constructed of mud, and containing a number of tall and large cones, built in the same manner, and serving as pigeon-houses: these have a singular appearance in the approach

* The best remedies for this terrible complaint are, first, a swathing of flannel in many folds, about the abdomen; and, secondly, a drink of water, in which rice has been boiled, carefully strained from the grains of rice, which should not be eaten. The very worst effects may be apprehended from brandy, or any of those heating cordials usually administered, by ignorant people, upon these occasions. Rice-water and abstemious diet is the cure resorted to by the Arabs themselves.

to the place. Pigeon's dung, everywhere valuable as manure, is here an important acquisition; for by mixing it with the sand upon the little islands left by the torrent in the midst of the river, a soil is formed, capable of producing water-melons.*

The birds which frequent the Nile; if we except the account given by Hasselquist,† are but little known, and our observations will add nothing to this deficiency in ornithology. A most superb collection was, however, forwarded to England under the patronage, and by the immediate orders, of Lord Hutchinson. It had been formed, with consummate skill and labour, by a person of the name of Savigny. We principally noticed pelicans from the mouth of the Nile, as far as Rachmanie. The *Sterna Nilotica*, or Egyptian sea-swallow, appeared, in immense flocks, near the sides of the river. Afterwards we saw many beautiful birds, of which we were entirely ignorant; particularly one of the plover kind, whose plumage exhibited the most lively and variegated colours.‡ The pigeon-cones increased very much after passing Amrus, almost every village being furnished with them. The buffaloes, swimming about in the Nile, afford a singular sight, with their black muzzles sticking out of the water, and snorting as they cross from side to side; all the rest of their bodies being concealed. But the most remarkable animal appearance may be noticed by merely dipping a ladle or bucket into the midst of the torrent, which is everywhere dark with mud, and observing the swarms of animalculæ it contains. Among these, tadpoles and young frogs are so numerous, that, rapid as the current flows, there is no part of the Nile where the water does not contain them. The additions to our herbarary were not of any importance; for the season was too far advanced.§ The rice-

* See also Baron de Tott's *Memoirs*, vol. II. pp. 248. *Lond.* 1785.

† See *Travels*, pp. 193. *Lond.* 1786.

‡ Probably the "*Tringa Egyptiaca*" of Linnæus, "*longirostris, fusco albidoque variegata*." See Hasselq. *Trav.* pp. 199.

§ In the account of our journey from Aboukir to Rosetta, (*See Chap. IX. Vol. II.*) five new species were omitted, which may be noticed here, although perhaps not found so high up the Nile. The first genus is not mentioned in Professor Martyn's edition of Miller's Dictionary.

I. A non-descript grass, being a new species of *POLYPOGON*; growing in little tufts, about two inches high. We have called it *POLYPOGON PUMILUM*. (See the character of this genus in the *Flora Atlantica* of M. Desfontaines, Professor of Botany in the Museum of Natural History at Paris.) This was found near Rosetta. *Polypogon pumilum, paniculâ ovalâ coarctatâ, aristis calyce hirsuto ferè duplò longioribus. Radix annua fibrosa. Culm.*

plants, however, may be excepted; these had not attained maturity, being now about two feet in height. They resembled a species of *Typha*, common in large ponds in the south of England, vulgarly called *flags*, as these appear, when young, rising from the water. We made the usual observation upon Fahrenheit's thermometer, at noon, just before arriving at *El Buredgiat*, and found the temperature equal to that of the former day; ninety degrees. This village is placed accurately in Kauffer's map. We steered south-east and by south. Proceeding towards *Nadir*, the course altered, and we steered due east. The river here appeared like an immense lake. A singular phenomenon engrossed all our attention. One of those immense columns of sand,

numerosi geniculati, ferè ad apices folioso. Folia glabriuscula striata, longe vaginantia, supra plana, patentia. Stipulae laceratæ, nitidæ. Paniculae inæquales, superiores lineas sex ad novem longæ; inferiores dimidio minores.

II. A non-descript species of *Lotus*, with shining silky leaves, very closely crowded together towards the tops of the branches. We have called it *LOTUS POLYPHYLLUS*. This was found between Aboukir and Rosetta, in the month of April. *Lotus caule suffrutescente ramoso, foliis lineari-parabolicis obliquis, imbricatis. sericeis, nitidis internodiis longioribus; floribus subternis; leguminibus glabris calyce hirsutissimo paulo longioribus. Rami ascendentes flexuosi, deorsum e casu foliorum cicatricibus notati nudi; supradense foliosi, hirsuti. Foliola lineas tres longa, utrinque sericea. Stipulae foliis similis. Flores foliis parum longiores, interdum solitarii. Legumina turgida stylo persistente coronata.*

III. A magnificent non-descript species of *OROBANCHE*, with a furrowed scaly stem, and a close spike of flowers about three inches broad, and above a foot in height. We have called it *OROBANCHE INSIGNIS*. This was also found between Aboukir and Rosetta, at the same time. *Orobanche caule simpliciter, corollis inflatis, recurvis, quinquefidis, laciniis integerrimis. calycibus quinquepartitis, bracteis ternis quaternisve, spica imbricata, oblonga, crassissima; antheris hirsutis.*

IV. A non-descript shrubby species of *SALSOLA*, belonging to that division of the genus called *Sueda* by Forskahl and Pallas, and distinguished principally by the want of the membranaceous wing to the calyx. The species is very much branched, with the bark of an ash colour; the smaller branches very leafy; the leaves two to three lines long, a little convex below; the flowers are attended by three small bracts; and generally ternate, but are found also solitary; the seeds black and shining, very small. We have called it *SALSOLA NITIDA*. This was found in the neighbourhood of Rosetta. *Salsola fruticosa, foliis ovalis supra planiusculis, glabris, obtusis; floribus axillaribus subternis; calycibus fructiferis inappendiculatis, conniventibus; seminibus reniformibus turgidis.*

V. A non-descript species of Wall-flower, (*CHEIRANTHUS* Linn.) the short stems of which spread upon the ground, and seldom extend beyond the radical leaves; these measure two and a half or three inches in length; the flowers in loose racemes, with purple petals, broad and notched at the end, and interwoven with dark veins; the pods compressed, an inch to an inch and a half in length, with a large three-cornered head, and thinly covered (like every part of the plant, the petals, stamens, and roots excepted) with white forked hairs. We have called it *CHEIRANTHUS HUMILIS*. This grew in the neighbourhood of Rosetta. *Cheiranthus pubescens, humilis; pilis dichotomis; foliis angustis elongatis omnibus pinnatifidis; siliquis compressis, linearibus, tricuspidatis calycibusque pubescentibus.*

mentioned by Bruce, came rapidly towards us, turning upon its base as upon a pivot : it crossed the Nile so near us, that the whirlwind by which it was carried placed our vessel upon its beam-ends, bearing its large sail quite into the water, and nearly upsetting the boat. As we were engaged in righting the vessel, the column disappeared. It is not probable that those columns fall suddenly upon any particular spot, so as to be capable of overwhelming an army or a caravan ; but that, as the sand, thus driven, is gradually accumulated, it becomes gradually dispersed, and, the column diminishing in its progress, at length disappears. A great quantity of sand is no doubt precipitated as the effect which gathers it becomes weaker ; but, from witnessing such phenomena upon a smaller scale, it does not seem likely that the whole body of the sand is at once abandoned.

Parties of young Arabs continually accompanied our djem this day, running along the banks of the river, and tumbling to obtain a few parâs, as we see children in many parts of England ; sometimes walking upon their hands, with their heels in the air ; at others, whirling upon their hands and feet, to imitate the motion of a wheel. Judging from the appearance these presented, the Arab complexion, at a very early age, is tawny, and almost black. They swim and dive remarkably well ; but these are arts in which all Oriental nations excel those of the Western world. About three leagues before our arrival at *Kafrakadia*, there was such an amazing quantity of corn formed into heaps near the river, that it extended nearly to the length of a mile. At this last-mentioned place there was a manufactory for extracting a dark blue dye from the indigo plant. Here girls of fourteen or fifteen years of age walked the streets, with jars of water upon their heads, perfectly naked. Our course latterly had varied occasionally from s. e. to s. w. At half past six p. m. we reached that part of the Nile where the river divides, so as to enclose the Delta by the Rosetta and Damietta branches. Its appearance above the point of separation was truly noble, being at this time three miles wide. The village or town of *Beersamps* stands upon the southern point of the Delta. *Koutomey* is upon the western side of the main river, and *Kafranamook* upon the eastern. After we had passed the point of Beersamps, our course along the undivided bed of the Nile was s. e. We arrived at Bulac

at midnight; having thus performed a voyage from Rosetta to the quay of Cairo in thirty-six hours, against the utmost force and rapidity of the torrent.

On Wednesday, the twelfth of August, we were roused, as soon as the sun dawned, by Anthony, our faithful Greek servant and interpreter, with the intelligence that the pyramids were in view. We hastened from the cabin;—and never will the impression made by their appearance be obliterated. By reflecting the sun's rays, they appeared as white as snow, and of such surprising magnitude, that nothing we had previously conceived in our imagination had prepared us for the spectacle we beheld. The sight instantly convinced us that no power of description, no delineation, can convey ideas adequate to the effect produced in viewing these stupendous monuments. The formality of their structure is lost in their prodigious magnitude: the mind, elevated by wonder, feels at once the force of an axiom, which, however disputed, experience confirms—that in vastness, whatsoever be its nature, there dwells sublimity.* Another proof of their indescribable power is, that no one ever approached them under other emotions than those of terror; which is another principal source of the sublime.† In certain instances of irritable feeling, this impression of awe and fear has been so great, as to cause pain rather than pleasure;‡ of which we shall have to record a very striking instance in the sequel. Hence, perhaps, have originated descriptions of the pyramids which represent them as deformed and gloomy masses, without taste or beauty. Persons who have derived no satisfaction from the contemplation of them, may not have been conscious that the uneasiness they experienced was a result of their own sensibility.

* "Sublime objects are vast in their dimensions." *Burke on the Sublime*, &c. Sec. 27. Part. 3. pp. 237. Lond. 1782.

† Ibid.

‡ Confirming in a striking manner, these words of Burke, concerning the distinctions of greatness and beauty: "*They are indeed ideas of a very different nature; one being founded on pain, the other on pleasure.*" (Ibid.) Having referred to the opinions of this truly great philosopher, upon a subject so interesting to every reflecting mind, it may not be unseasonable to insert here a brief comparison between the theories of Longinus and Burke. There appears to be as much difference in them as between mechanism and intellect; between the operations of a piece of clock work and those of human reason. Longinus directs us to the effects of the sublime; Burke points out its causes. Longinus teaches us to seek for the sublime without us; Burke, to create it within ourselves. Longinus views it in its broad and well-known channel; Burke conducts us to its source.

Others have acknowledged ideas widely different, excited by every wonderful circumstance of character and of situation;—ideas of duration, almost endless; of power, inconceivable; of majesty, supreme; of solitude, most awful; of grandeur, of desolation and of repose.

As soon as we landed, we met several officers from India, belonging to the sixty-first regiment, then stationed in the Isle of Rhouda, in the Nile; where the Indian army was encamped. They had been, upon asses, to Cairo. We profited by their return, to hire the same animals, with their drivers, in order to be conducted to the house of the Reis Effendi. The Reis understood something of the English language, and spoke French remarkably well. He had been in England: and had written a work upon the manufactures, manners, customs, and laws of Great Britain. Of this curious document we never could obtain a sight, although it is often sold, among the other manuscripts, by the booksellers in Cairo and Constantinople. Perhaps he did not choose to make our countrymen at that time acquainted with his sentiments upon these subjects. He told us, he found every thing very good in London, especially veal and cider, but that nothing was cheap. We gave him a letter from the Capudan Pasha, and he promised to render us all the service in his power. His janizaries conducted us, at our request, to colonel Holloway, who, with major Hope, and other officers of the artillery, were quartered in a large building, where the French Members of the Institute held their sittings during the time they were in possession of Cairo. Having presented our letters to the colonel, we were received by him with great politeness, and were afterwards indebted to him for every civility it was in his power to show us. He introduced us to Dr. Whitman, who has since published an account of his travels; and undertook to forward our letters to England, and to present us to the Grand Vizîr. In the court belonging to the house where these officers resided, were several interesting articles of antiquity, abandoned by the French upon the surrender of the city. Among these was the *stèle* of porphyry which is now deposited in the Vestibule of the University Library at Cambridge. Colonel Holloway kindly permitted us to remove this to England. We placed it in the prow of our djerm; thereby giving it the appearance of a gun-boat, to awe the pirates upon the river, during our subsequent voyage, in returning to Rosetta.

There were also in this court certain fragments of Egyptian statues, formed of the substance commonly called ancient basalt, which is a variety of *trap*, exceedingly compact, and susceptible of a very high polish. But the most remarkable relique of the whole collection, since unaccountably neglected, (for it is, in all probability, still lying where we left it,) was a very large slab, covered with an inscription, in Hieroglyphic, Egyptian, and Greek characters, exactly similar to the famous trilingual stone now in the British Museum.*

Upon the following day, Thursday, August the thirteenth, we again visited the Reis Effendi; who promised us an escort to the pyramids, and said that a day should be appointed for our presentation to the Vizîr, at that time in Caïro. Afterward we visited the *bazars*, expecting to obtain from the jewellers' shops of this city some of the precious minerals of the East, at a reasonable rate. Not a single specimen worth notice could be procured. The French had bought up almost every thing; and perhaps the frequent disturbances which had happened in the city had caused the concealment of every valuable commodity. Among the goldsmiths we found only two antique intaglio gems, and a few medals of very little value, such as large copper coins of the Ptolemies. The cotton shawls manufactured in England would find a ready sale in this place. They asked two hundred piastres even for old turbans which had been mended. In the fruit-market we saw fresh dates, exceeding fine grapes, and peaches. Sausages were dressed, and sold hot in the streets, as in London: but whether the ingredients were pork, or any other meat, we did not inquire. To describe the interior of the city would be only to repeat what has been often said of all Turkish towns; with this difference, that

* Its being left in Egypt is a circumstance wholly unaccountable. It was once colonel Holloway's intention to have allowed us also the privilege of conveying this interesting piece of antiquity to our own country. We did not afterwards discover the reason which prevented the fulfilment of this liberal design; and we were too much indebted to his politeness and hospitality to attribute it to any other cause than a desire to insure its safe transportation, by entrusting it to men better provided with means for its removal. But, as it still remains in Caïro, some notice should be taken of it, that measures may be adopted to prevent its being finally lost. It should also be added, that the inscriptions upon this stone are much effaced. The Greek characters are so little legible, that the author could not succeed in copying them. But there is a wide difference between the opportunity offered for that purpose, when exposed to the heat of an open court at Caïro in the middle of August, and a leisurely examination of the surface of the stone, with precisely the degree of light proper for the undertaking.

there is not, perhaps, upon earth a more dirty metropolis. Every place is covered with dust; and its particles are so minute, that it rises into all the courts and chambers of the city. The streets are destitute of any kind of pavement: they exhibit, therefore, a series of narrow dusty lanes, between gloomy walls. It is well known that Europeans were formerly compelled to walk, or to ride upon asses, through these streets; nor had the practice been wholly abandoned when we arrived; for, although some of our officers appeared occasionally on horseback, many of them ambled about, in their uniforms, upon the jackasses let for hire by the Arabs. Horses were not easily procured. To ride these, it was necessary first to buy them. And even when riding upon asses, if a favourable opportunity offered, when our military were not in sight, the attendants of the rich Turks, running on foot before their horses to clear the way, made every christian descend and walk until the bearded grandee had passed. We noticed several jugglers exhibiting their craft in the streets of Cairo; bearing in their hands a kind of toy, common in England, consisting of a number of pieces of wood, in the shape of playing-cards, strung together, and revolving from top to bottom; such as are called by children *trick-track*, and are often painted to display the Cries of London. These toys seemed to delight the Arabs, who considered them as put together by magic. For the rest of the exhibition, it much resembled the shows of our mountebanks; each party having its merry Andrew, who endured hard kicks and cuffs for the amusement of the populace.

By means of the canal which intersects the city, now filled with its muddy water, we visited great part of Cairo in a boat. The prodigious number of gardens give it so pleasing an appearance, and the trees growing in those gardens are so new to the eyes of a European, that, for a moment, he forgets the innumerable abominations of the dirtiest metropolis in the world. Many of the most conspicuous of these trees have been often described, but not all of them. The most beautiful among them, the *Mimosa Lebbeck*, has not even been mentioned in any account yet published of the city. This is the more extraordinary, as it grows upon the banks of the canal; and its long weeping branches, pendent to the surface of the water, could not escape notice. We brought the seeds of it to the Garden of Natural History at Cambridge, where it has since flourished. This plant has

been hitherto so little known in Europe, that although cultivated in some botanic gardens for more than half a century, it has never been properly recognised. About thirty years ago, Professor Jacquin, who received some seeds of it from the East Indies, described it as a new species, under the name of *Mimosa speciosa*; and by this name it is still distinguished in the English catalogues. It grows promiscuously with the Gum Arabic Acacia, or *Mimosa Nilotica*, both of these, and also the *Mimosa Senegal*, are seen adorning the sides of the canal. Hasselquist says that he saw the two last growing wild in the sandy desert, near the ancient sepulchres of the Egyptians.* The *Mimosa Nilotica*; or *Acacia vera*, produces the frankincense. It is gathered in vast quantities from trees growing near the most northern bay of the Red Sea, at the foot of Mount Sinai; and called *Thus*, by the dealers in Egypt, from *Thur* and *Thor*, which is the name of a harbour in that bay; thereby being distinguished from the Gum Arabic which comes from Suez.† These gums, says Hasselquist, differ in other particulars beside their localities; the first being limpid and colourless; the latter less pellucid, and of a brown, or dirty yellow colour.‡ We purchased a considerable quantity of the white gum. The fragrant odour diffused in burning it is well known; but its operation, as an enlivener of the spirits, in persons of weak health, does not seem to have been much regarded. Perhaps the pleasing antidote it affords to the effects of foul air in crowded assembly-rooms, may possibly hereafter give it a place among the luxuries of London and Paris. Hitherto the sacred Sabæan odour has been exclusively reserved for the religious ceremonies of the Greek and Roman churches: and that which was once considered an offering worthy the altars of the Most High God, now scarcely obtains any notice. Fifteen hundred years before the Christian æra, the ordinances concerning incense§ were delivered to the leader of the Jewish nation; and the history of the most ancient pagan rites also bears testimony to a similar custom. It seems evident, from the words of Scripture, that the practice of burning incense, among the Jews, was introduced with reference to the supposed salutary na-

* Travels to the East, p. 250. Lond. 1776.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ "And thou shalt make an altar to burn incense upon." *Exod. xxx. f.*

ture of the exhalation. Immediately following the ordinance for its use, it is stated, that the time of burning it shall be at the dressing and lighting of the lamps;* when an offensive smell, thereby created, might probably have pervaded the temple. Whatever may have been the cause of its original introduction among the sacrifices, whether of the Jews or Heathens, its being appropriated to the service of the temple long caused it to be held in superstitious veneration. Many medical properties, which it never possessed, have been attributed to it; and, down to the latest ages, considered as an offering acceptable unto Heaven, it has been celebrated as giving efficacy to prayer, or, in the language of poetry, as wafting to Paradise the orisons of men.

The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer seemed at this time fixed. It remained at 90° for several days, without the smallest perceptible change. Almost every European suffered an inflammation of the eyes. Many were troubled with cutaneous disorders. The prickly heat was very common. This was attributed to drinking the muddy water of the Nile, the inhabitants having no other. Their mode of purifying it, in a certain degree, is by rubbing the inside of the water-vessels with bruised almonds: this precipitates a portion of the mud, but it is never quite clear. Many persons were afflicted with sores upon the skin, which were called "*Boils of the Nile*;" and dysenterical complaints were universal. A singular species of lizard made its appearance in every chamber, having circular membranes at the extremity of its feet, which gave it such tenacity that it crawled upon panes of glass, or upon the surface of pendent mirrors. This revolting sight was common to every apartment, whether in the houses of the rich or of the poor. At the same time, such a plague of flies covered all things with their swarms, that it was impossible to eat without hiring persons to stand by every table with feathers, or flappers, to drive them away. Liquor could not be poured into a glass; the mode of drinking was, by keeping the mouth of every bottle covered until the moment it was applied to the lips; and instantly covering it with the palm of the hand, when removing it to offer it to any one else. The

* "And Aaron shall burn thereon sweet incense every morning: when he dresseth the lamps, he shall burn incense upon it. And when Aaron lighteth the lamps at even, he shall burn incense upon it; a perpetual incense before the Lord, throughout your generations." *Exod. xxx. 7, 8.*

utmost attention to cleanliness by the frequent change of every article of wearing apparel, could not repel the attacks of the swarms of vermin which seemed to infest even the air of the place. A gentleman made his appearance, before a party he had invited to dinner, completely covered with lice. The only explanation he could give as to the cause was, that he had sat for a short time in one of the boats upon the canal. Perhaps objection may be made to a statement, even of facts, which refers to no pleasing theme; but the author does not conceive it possible to give Englishmen a correct notion of the trials to which they will be exposed in visiting this country, without calling some things by their names. The insects of the Nile are many of them also common to the Don: other instances of similarity in the two rivers have been before noticed.* The gardens of Cairo are filled with turtle-doves, whose melancholy notes suit the solitary disposition of the Turks. Their music has the same plaintive character. The houses of the city are larger and better built than those of Constantinople, the foundations being of stone, and the superstructure bricks and mortar; but they have the same gloomy appearance externally. The interior consists principally of timber. The French had pulled down many houses, in order to get fuel: owing to this, and to the commotions that had taken place, a considerable part of the city appeared in ruins. The inhabitants generally ride upon mules or asses: the latter are so active in this country, and possess such extraordinary strength, that for all purposes of labour, even for carrying heavy burdens across the sandy desert, they are next in utility to the camel, and will bear work better than horses. The horse in Egypt is used rather as an animal of parade, than for essential service. The vast army of the Wahabees in the desert were said to be mounted upon camels and upon asses. The population of Cairo consisted at this time of Arabs and Mamelukes, for the chief part; and beside these, were Copts, Jews, and Greeks, together with the adventitious multitude caused by the events of war which had filled the streets of the city with the Sepoys and various casts of India, with Turks, Italians, French, and English soldiers, merchants, and adventurers of every description. The Indian army, under general Baird, was encamped in the Isle of Rhouda,

* See Vol. I. p. 178. *chap. 13. N. Y. ed.*

and presented the finest military spectacle it is possible to conceive; offering a striking contrast to the appearance of the troops from England, which were encamped upon the Alexandrian plain. The Indian army, in possession of abundant supplies, and having all the comforts which wealth and power could bestow, might be considered rather as an encampment of mightiest princes than of private men. The tents of its subalterns were superior to the marquees of general-officers in the English army, where the commander-in-chief lived as the poorest soldier, and wretchedness and privation were the standing orders of the day.* Every morning, at sunrise, as in lord Hutchinson's army, a gun was fired, and the whole line of the troops from India were under arms, amounting to 3,000 men. At this hour we often resorted to the Isle of Rhouda, to view the magnificent parade. An immense grove of the most enormous sycamore fig-trees, larger than any of our forest trees,† secured almost the whole army from the rays of the sun. Troops in such a state of military perfection, or better suited for active service, were never seen, not even in the famous parade of the chosen ten-thousand belonging to Bonaparte's legions, which he was so vain of displaying, before the present war, in the front of the Thuilleries at Paris. Not an unhealthy soldier was to be seen. The English inured to the climate of India considered that of Egypt as temperate in its effects; and the sepoy seemed as fond of the Nile as of the Ganges. After general Baird had inspected the line, the sepoy was marched to Cairo, where, having piled their arms before one of the principal mosques, they all joined the Moslems in their devotions,—to the surprise and satisfac-

* The luxury and pomp of the Indian army may be conceived, by simply stating the fact, that glass lustres manufactured in London, exported to India, and thence conveyed, after a voyage up the Red Sea, upon the backs of camels across the desert from Cosseir to the Nile, were suspended in the audience-pavilion of the commander-in-chief. Breakfasting with a lieutenant of the sixty-first regiment, we were regaled with white bread, and fresh butter, made upon the spot for the occasion, (which, perhaps, had never been seen before in Egypt,) fruit, cream, tea, coffee, and chocolate. The impression made by external splendour, upon men characterized as are the inhabitants of the Turkish empire, is more effectual for the advancement of our political interests in the East, than the operations of war. An ignorant moslem attaches higher ideas of power to the appearance of wealth, than to any effect of military strength.

† The editor of Hasselquist's Travels has mistaken his measure of *circumference* for *diameter*: "This is a huge tree, the stem being often fifty feet thick." See Hasselquist's Travels, p. 259. Lond. 1766. It cannot, surely, be intended that the sycamore trees of Egypt were nearly nineteen yards in diameter.

tion of the Turks and Arabs, who speedily circulated a report over Caïro, that the English army was filled with soldiers belonging to the faithful. These men were all volunteers; and no instance had ever occurred of their being conveyed so far from their native land at any former period.

A dinner given by general Baird to all the English officers, and others of our countrymen in Caïro, took place while the camp remained upon the island of Rhouda. We were invited; and the scene was so extraordinary, that it ought to be noticed. The dinner was given in the pavilion before mentioned: this was lighted by glass lustres suspended from an enormous bamboo cane, sustaining the inner covering of the tent; and by wax caudles in glass cylinders. English porter, roasted pigs, and other English fare, together with port, claret, and Madeira wines, appeared upon the table. The dinner was cooked by Indian servants, upon the sand near the tent; and a view of the extraordinary cleanliness observed by these cooks, as well as of their peculiar habits, were among the most curious parts of the exhibition. Having drawn a line around them, they suffered no person to pass this boundary. The rules of their cast enjoined that none of the cooking vessels should be touched, except by their own hands. After dinner the officers smoked the *hooka*: every pipe had its peculiar attendant upon the outside of the tent; the long flexible tubes alone being brought under the sides of the pavilion to those seated at table. The servants in waiting were principally negroes, dressed in white turbans with muslin jackets, but without stockings or shoes. The upper part of the pavilion was adorned with beautiful net-work, the hangings were of green silk, and the floor covered with Indian mats. The tables were of polished mahogany; and the company present in full uniform; an association of things so incongruous with the natural horrors and barbarism of the country, upon the border of an interminable desert, and in the midst of such a river as the Nile, where persons from India and from England were met to banquet together, that, perhaps, no similar result of commerce and of conquest is ever likely to occur again, in any part of the habitable globe. Upon this occasion we heard the extraordinary fact, maintained and confirmed by indisputable testimony, that certain Brahmins who had accompanied the English army in its march from the Red Sea to the Nile, from *Cosseir* to *Kenê*, saw at *Dendera*

the representation of their god *Vishnû* among the ancient sculpture of the place;* and were with difficulty restrained by their officers from assaulting the Arabs on account of the neglected state in which *his* temple as *they* supposed, was suffered to remain. The officers of general Baird's army spoke highly of the accuracy of Bruce's observations; and the general himself assured us, that he considered Great Britain as indebted to Bruce's valuable chart of the Red Sea, for the safety of the transports employed in conveying the British forces.

At this time there happened to arrive in Cairo an Abyssinian Dean, a negro, who had undertaken his immense journey for religious purposes, and then resided in the monastery belonging to the *Propaganda* friars.† The author had been often engaged, in noting, from this man's account of his country, some information respecting the state of Christianity in Abyssinia; and had purchased of him a written copy of the Gospel of St. John, together with certain prayers in the Abyssinian language: these manuscripts are now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. As general Baird had a copy of Bruce's Travels then in his possession, and was kind enough to allow us the use of it, a better opportunity might rarely offer of submitting Bruce's narrative to the test of a comparison with the evidence afforded by a native of Abyssinia. We, therefore, appointed a day for this purpose; and sent an invitation to the Abyssinian Dean. In order to make the inquiry as public as possible, we also requested the attendance of Mr. Hamilton, secretary of the earl of Elgin, of Dr. Whitman, and of Mr. Hammer, a celebrated Oriental scholar, during the investigation. One of the *Propaganda* friars served us as our interpreter with the Abyssinian priest. It was at first disputed whether any mention should be made of Bruce, or not; but at length we resolved that a series of questions should be put from Bruce's work, without any mention being made of him, or any allusion to his travels in Abyssinia. The sight of his volumes on the table were not likely to offer any clew, respecting the purport of

* It were to be wished that some officer belonging to the Indian army, who was present upon that occasion, would specify what particular figure the Brahmins conceived to be a representation of *Vishnû*.

† There are two monasteries in Cairo; one called the *Terra Sancta*, and the other the *Propaganda* monastery.

our inquiry, to an Æthiopian who had never seen a printed quarto before in his life, and to whom the language in which it was written was altogether unknown. His testimony, therefore, as a native of Abyssinia, to the accuracy of Bruce's description of the country, will not be disregarded; and the following result of our conversation with him may terminate this chapter.*

Our first questions related to the place of his birth; and of his usual residence before he left Abyssinia. In answer to these he stated, that he was born at *Gellebeda*,† in the province of *Tigre*, whose capital is *Adowa*,‡ distant twenty-five or thirty days from the Nile, and sixteen or seventeen from *Massuah* upon the Red Sea; that his usual place of residence, and to which he should return, after leaving *Cairo*, was a village about fifteen days' journey from *Gondar*. We

* There has not been an example, in the annals of literature, of more unfair and disgraceful hostility than that which an intolerant and invidious party too successfully levelled, during a considerable period, against the writings of Bruce. Soon after the publication of his "*Travels to discover the source of the Nile*," several copies of the work were sold in Dublin as waste paper, in consequence of the calumnies circulated against the author's veracity. This happened in the year 1791. In the year 1800, Mr. John Antes, of Fulnac, in Yorkshire, published a small volume of "*Observations on Egypt*;" a work not less remarkable for its fidelity and genuineness, than for the little notice it received. Speaking of Bruce, that author observes: "When Mr. Bruce returned from Abyssinia, I was at Grand *Cairo*. I had the pleasure of his company for three months, almost every day: and having, at that time, myself an idea of penetrating into Abyssinia, I was very inquisitive about that country, on hearing many things from him which seemed almost incredible to me. I used to ask his Greek servant, Michael, (*a simple fellow, incapable of any invention*;) about the same circumstances, and ~~must~~ *say that he commonly agreed with his master in the chief points.*" (*See Observat. on the Mann. and Cust. of the Egyptians, by John Antes, Esq. p. 17. Lond. 1800.*) Many stronger testimonies in favour of Bruce's accuracy have also at different times been adduced, particularly by Mr. Browne; (*See Pref. to his Travels*;) and the work has consequently risen very considerably in the public estimation. Some travellers, indeed, have attempted to invalidate certain of his assertions, which, after all, are not of much moment, whether they be true or false: such for example, as the circumstance related by Bruce of the part he took in the wars of the country; and of the practice he witnessed of taking flesh from a living animal, as an article of food: this last has, however, now been fully confirmed by the statement of the native priest, as given above. It is probable that Bruce would never have encountered the opposition he met with, if his writings had not been characterized by offending egotism. Baron de Tott's work experienced a similar fate, from the same cause; and has similarly obtained, at last, the consideration to which, by its great merit, it is justly entitled.

† This place is mentioned in Mr. Salt's Narrative, as published by lord Valentia, and written GULLYBUDDA. (*See vol. III. p. 71. Lond. 1809.*) He describes it as "a place of considerable extent and population."

‡ Bruce also describes *Adowa*, as being the capital of *Tigre*. A view of the town accompanies Mr. Salt's Narrative, in lord Valentia's Travels, vol. III. p. 76. *Lond. 1809.*

asked him what kind of coin was circulated in his native province: he said that fossil salt was used in *Tigre* as a substitute for money.*

Our next inquiry related to the long-disputed fact, of a practice among the Abyssinians of cutting from a live animal slices of its flesh, as an article of food, without putting it to death. This Bruce affirms that he witnessed in his journey from Massuah to Axum.† The Abyssinian answering, informed us, that *the soldiers of the country, during their marauding excursions, sometimes maim cows after this manner, taking slices from their bodies, as a favourite article of food, without putting them to death at the time; and that during the banquets of the Abyssinians, raw meat, esteemed delicious throughout the country, is frequently taken from an ox or a cow, in such a state that the fibres are in motion; and that the attendants continue to cut slices until the animal dies.* This answer exactly corresponds with Bruce's Narrative: he expressly states that the persons whom he saw were *soldiers*,‡ and the animal *a cow*.§ Such a coincidence could hardly have happened, unless the practice really existed. We inquired if other animals were thus treated; and were answered in the negative. Mutton is always boiled; and veal is never eaten, in any way.|| In times of famine alone the inhabitants eat boiled blood.

Among other absurd accusations brought against Bruce, a very popular charge at one time was, that some of the plants engraved in his work never existed in nature, but were the offspring of his own fertile imagination. We therefore resolved next to exhibit the engravings to our Abyssinian, and desire him to name the plants, and to describe

* Mr. Salt, speaking of a manufacture of cloth at *Adowa*, says it circulates as money through the country; but he adds, "Each piece is about sixteen cubits long, and one and three quarters wide: its value is *thirty pieces of salt*," or one dollar." *Valentia's Travels*, vol. III. p. 78. Lond. 1809. Also in vol. III. p. 54, "The small currency (at *Antalaw*) consisted of wedges of rock-salt, each weighing two or three pounds, and estimated at 1-30 of a dollar."

† *Bruce's Travels*, vol. III. p. 142. *Edinb.* 1790. "When I first mentioned this in England, I was told by my friends it was not believed. I asked the reason of this disbelief, and was answered, that people who had never been out of their own country, and others well acquainted with the manners of the world, for they had travelled as far as *France*, had agreed the thing was impossible, and therefore it was so." *Ibid* p. 144

‡ *Bruce's Travels*, *ibid*. p. 142.

§ *Ibid*

|| This agrees with the account published by Lord Valentia, from Mr. Salt's Journal. See *Valentia's Travels*, vol. III. p. 159. *Lond.* 1809.

their properties. It was impossible that this man should read, and much less comprehend, the Abyssinian names which Bruce's engraver had inscribed upon the bottom of those plates.

The first plates offered to his notice were those which represent the *Sassa*.* He recognised the plants, but knew nothing of the name Bruce had given them, and denied that any gum was produced by them. Matters went on more swimmingly when the next were shown to him. He named the following instantly, and gave the same account of them that Bruce had done; namely, *Ergett Dimmo*; *Ergett el Krone*; *Ensete*; *Kol-Quall*; *Gir Gir*; *Kantuffa*; &c. all of whose Abyssinian appellations he pronounced exactly as Bruce had written them. The *Ergett el Krone*, he said, grew near the lake TZANA, and in every part of Abyssinia; but that it was of no use to the inhabitants. He described the leaves of the *Ensete* as resembling those of the *Banana*; but the plant as yielding no fruit. They boil the root of it, as a garden vegetable, with mutton. The *Kol-Quall* he named instantly; saying, that, on beating it, it yields a quantity of milk, which is poisonous, but may be used as a cement, capable of joining two pieces of stone. Its smaller branches, when dry, are used for candles; and its wood serves for timber, in building houses. It produces no gum.† Bruce relates all this; and adds, that upon cutting two branches of the *Kol-Quall* with his sabre, not less than four English gallons of the milk issued out; which was so caustic, that although he washed the sabre immediately, the stain never left it.‡ We were amused by the eager quickness with which our Abyssinian recognised and named the *Kantuffa*; telling us all that Bruce relates of its thorny nature, as if he had his work by heart. The *Ballessan*, or Balsam-tree, was entirely unknown to him. He had seen the *Papyrus* in *Emhâra* in the province of LEBU, growing in marshy lands. Concerning the other plants engraved in Bruce's work, his observations agreed with those of Bruce, with very little exception. He denied that the mode of eating raw meat was by wrapping it up in cakes made of *Teff*. These cakes, he said, were used for plates, or as bread only for women and

* Bruce's Travels, Appendix, p. 28.

† Therefore not the *Euphorbia officinarum* of Einnæus. See Bruce's Trav. Appendix, p. 44.

‡ Ibid. p. 43.

sick persons. The Abyssinians do not make beer from *Teff*, according to his account, but from a plant called *Selleh*. Bruce mentions different sorts of *Teff*,* of which, perhaps, *Selleh* may be one. The Abyssinian concurred with Bruce, in attributing the frequency of worm-disorders, in his country, to the practice of eating raw flesh.† This is considered always as a luxury, and therefore the priests abstain from it. In his own village, he said, the soldiers and principal people prefer raw meat to every other diet; that before he became a priest, he had himself eaten much of it; that he considered it as very savoury when the animal from which it is taken is fat and healthy. He professed himself to be ignorant of the virtue ascribed by Bruce to the *Wooginoos*,‡ now called *Brucea antidysenterica*; although he knew the plant well, and said it cured all disorders caused by magic: but he verified all that Bruce had related of the *Cusso*,§ or *Banksia Abyssinica*, and added, that it was customary to drink an infusion made from it every two months, as a preventive against the disorder noticed by Bruce. When shown the *Walkuffa*, he mentioned a curious circumstance, which Bruce has related; namely, that the bark of this plant serves the Abyssinians as a substitute for soap. He knew nothing of the word *Carat*, as a name said by Bruce to be given, in the south of Abyssinia, to the bean of the *Kuara* tree, and used in weighing gold.

Having thus discussed the plants, we directed his attention to the quadrupeds, birds, and other articles of natural history. His answers gave us as much reason to be convinced of Bruce's accuracy in this, as in the former part of his work. It would take up too much of the reader's attention to detail all the evidence we collected for this purpose. He added, that the rhinoceros was called *Chartiet* by the Abyssinians, and said that its horn, used for lining the interior of drinking-vessels, is considered as an antidote to poison. When the engraving representing the *Ashkoko* was placed before him, he recognised the animal, and related the circumstance mentioned by Bruce|| of its being considered unclean, both by christians and by mahometans. Speaking of its name, he made a curious distinction; saying that it is called *Ashkoko* in the court language, but *Ghere* in the vulgar tongue.

* See Bruce's Trav. vol. III. p. 280. Edinb. 1790.

† Bruce entertained the same opinion. See *Travels*, Append. p. 80. Edinb. 1790.

‡ Ibid. p. 69.

§ Ibid. p. 73.

|| See *Bruce's Travels*, Appendix, p. 145.

If there be a part of Bruce's work apparently fabulous, from its marvellous nature, it is the account he has given of that destructive fly, the *Zimb*, or *Tsaltalya*;* yet in the history of this insect, as in every other instance, the testimony of the Abyssinian dean strictly confirmed all that Bruce had written upon the subject. He told us, that horses and cows were its principal victims; that there were not many of those insects in his native province; but that he had heard of armies being destroyed in consequence of this terrible scourge. We questioned him concerning the plant which is said to render persons invulnerable to serpents or scorpions, merely by chewing its leaves. He replied that he knew the plant well, but had forgotten its name; that it resembled hemp, and that he had often made use of it to prove its virtues; but he added, that it must be chewed at the time of touching the serpent or the scorpion.

Previous to the introduction of any inquiry concerning the source of the Nile, we showed to him Bruce's map of the lake Tzana, and of the surrounding country. At this he was highly gratified. He knew all the places mentioned in the territories of *Belessen*, *Begemder*, *Gojam*, and *Agons*, and, attempting to show to us the situation of GONDAR, actually pointed out the spot marked by Bruce for the locality of that city.

The Nile (which before its junction with the lake Tzana he called *Aleaoui*) he described as having but *one source*,† in a marshy spot, upon the top of a mountain, about five or six miles from the lake, and upon its south-eastern side. He had not been there himself, but had often visited that side of the lake. There are many villages in the neighbourhood of the place. The inhabitants are all christians; but they

* See *Bruce's Travels, Appendix*, p. 188. See also vol. I. p. 382.

† Bruce's account of the origin of this river will perhaps be found, after all, more correct than any we can obtain, even from the Abyssinians themselves, who do not reside near enough to the spot to have made personal observation. Mr. Salt mentions the little reliance he could place in the various accounts given to him upon this subject. "When I found," says he, "that I must give up all hopes of penetrating beyond the *Tacazza*, I took every occasion to make inquiries, of such persons as were likely to give me any intelligence respecting the Nile. Their accounts generally agreed with each other; but it appeared to me that they spoke from what they had heard, and not from personal knowledge. Its situation near the village of Geesh; the marshyness of the plain; the elevation of the spot whence it flows above the surrounding country; its circuit from Gojam; were points familiar to them all: but they differed considerably as to the number of the fountains from which it springs; some speaking of three, others of four, and one person of five." *Lord Valentia's Trav.* vol. III. p. 160.

entertain no veneration for the spot, neither are any honours whatsoever, paid to the source of the river. There are, indeed, many springs which are medicinal, and said to be the gift of certain saints, but he had never heard that the fountain of the Nile was one of these.

Here we terminated our investigation, as far as it related to Bruce's account of Abyssinia; and the result of it left a conviction upon our minds, not only of the general fidelity of that author, but that no other book of travels, published so long after the events took place which he has related, and exposed to a similar trial, would have met with equal testimony of its truth and accuracy.*

* In the interesting memoir of Mr. Salt's Journey in Abyssinia, as published by Lord Valentia, its author has assailed the veracity of Bruce, in a manner which may be lamented by those who hold Mr. Salt's Narrative in the highest estimation; and for this reason; that, with an evident disposition to dispute the correctness of Bruce's representation, no writer has contributed more effectually to the establishment of Bruce's credit. Mr. Salt speaks in the most positive terms of the accuracy with which Bruce has detailed his historical information. (*See Lord Valentia's Travels*, vol. III. pp. 163. 209. &c. &c. Lond. 1809.) He also mentions the astonishment of the natives at his own knowledge of their history: (*Ibid.* p. 227.) and above all, that he was considered by them as a superior being, when he exhibited Bruce's drawings of Gondar. (*Ibid.*) in many other instances he bears ample testimony to Bruce's accuracy. (*See* vol. II. p. 460. 480. &c.; vol. III. pp. 163. 211. 217. *See also the instances adduced in the Edinb. Encyclop.* vol. V. Part I. pp. 9, 10.) When to all this is added the evidence afforded by the celebrated Browne, (*See Preface to his Travels*), in support of the few facts which are questioned by Mr. Salt, and the opinion given of his work by the commander-in-chief of the British army sent from India by the Red Sea, as before alluded to, we may surely consider the writings of this illustrious traveller to be placed beyond the reach of cavil: and we ought to agree with that profound scholar, (*See Vincent's Periphus of the Erythr. Sea*, p. 93.) who, maintaining that Bruce's work "bears, throughout, internal marks of veracity," considered it to be a duty "NOT TO TREAT WITH INGRATITUDE THOSE WHO EXPLORE THE DESERT FOR OUR INFORMATION."

CHAP. III.

GRAND CAIRO.

Arabic language, as spoken in Egypt—Dress of the women in Cairo—State of Society—Houses—Gardens— Ceremony of Ululation in honour of the Dead—Exaggerated descriptions of the Country—Supposed Sacrifice of a Virgin to the Nile—Book Market—Ancient Medals in Circulation—Custom of the Arabs in passing a Bridge—Appearance of Women in the Streets—Enormities practised by the Turks—Extortions—Discovery of a curious Manuscript—Citadel—Pointed Arches—Interesting Inscription—Mosaic Painting—Present State of the Art—Joseph's Well—Origin of the Citadel—View from the Ramparts.

ANY Englishman hearing a party of Egyptian Arabs in conversation, and being ignorant of their language, would suppose they were quarrelling. The Arabic, as spoken by Arabs, is more guttural even than the Welsh; but the dialect of Egypt appeared to us to be particularly harsh. It is always spoken with a vehemence of gesticulation, and loudness of tone, which is quite a contrast to the stately sedate manner of speaking among the Turks: we were constantly impressed with a notion that the Arabs, in conversation, were quarrelling. More than once we ordered the interpreter to interfere, and to pacify them, when it appeared that we were mistaken, and that nothing was further from their feelings, at the time, than anger. The effect is not so displeasing to the ear when Arab women converse; although the gesticulation is nearly the same. Signor *Rosetti*,* whose hospitality to strangers has been celebrated by every traveller in Egypt during nearly half a century, introduced us to a Venetian family, of the name of *Pini*,† in which there

* Mr. Bruce mentions him (*Trav.* vol. I. p. 30. *Edin.* 1790.) under the name of "*Carlo Rosetti, a Venetian merchant, a young man of capacity and intrigue.*" Bruce was in Cairo in the beginning of July, 1768. Signor Rosetti told us he well remembered Bruce, and entertained no doubt as to the truth of the narrative which he published concerning his travels.

† "There is also at Cairo, a Venetian Consul, and a house of that nation called *Pini*, all excellent people." *Bruce's Trav.* vol. I. p. 26.

were many beautiful young women, and with whom we had frequent opportunity of hearing the Arabic as spoken by the most polished females of the city. The dress of those young ladies was much more elegant than any female costume we had before observed in the East, and it was entirely borrowed from the ancients. A zone placed immediately below the bosom served to confine a loose robe open in front, so as to display a pair of rich pantaloons. The feet were covered with embroidered slippers, but the ankle and instep were naked; and round the lower part of the leg, above the ankle, they wore large cinctures of massive gold; like that which was discovered upon a tomb upon the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and represented in a former part of this work.*

Denon speaks of the pleasurable sensations daily excited by the delicious temperature of Cairo, causing Europeans, who arrive with the intention of spending a few months in the city, to remain during the rest of their lives, without ever persuading themselves to leave it. Few of those, however, with whom we associated, were disposed to acquiesce in the opinion of this very amiable writer. Persons studious of uninterrupted repose, or capable of tolerating the endless monotony which society exhibits in every family where strangers are received, may perhaps endure, without murmuring, a temporary residence in the midst of disease, and dirt, and torpid inactivity.

The effect, whether it be of climate, of education, or of government, is the same among all settlers in Egypt, except the Arabs; a disposition to exist without exertion of any kind; to pass whole days upon beds and cushions, smoking, and counting beads. This is what Maillet termed *Le vrai génie Egyptienne*† and that it may be acquired by residing among the native inhabitants of Cairo, is evident from the appearance exhibited by Europeans who have passed some years in the city. When we first arrived, we had no other place of lodging than what our djerm afforded. This was stationed, during the day, at Bulac, and guarded by our faithful Arabs. Every night these men moved it over to the Isle of Rhouda, and anchored close to the camp of the Indian army, in order to avoid the mice, flies, vermin, and dust, which infested us from the quay, and prevented our

* See vol. I. chap. xvii. p. 264. *N. Y. ed.*

† Description de l'Égypte, tom. II. p. 220. à la Haye, 1740.

rest. But, after a short time, we procured a large house, which had been inhabited by French officers, in a very populous part of the city, near the residence of Signor Rossetti. This greatly added to our facility in seeing the city, and observing the manners of its inhabitants.

Their best houses answer to the description given in a former part of this work, of the palace of an Armenian merchant, at Nicotia in Cyprus*. The taste shown in decorating their apartments is of the kind called *Arabesque*: this, although early introduced into England from the East, is not *Saracenical*, but *Egyptian*.† It is a style which the Greeks themselves adopted, and it was received amongst the Romans in the time of Augustus. Where the windows are glazed, which generally consist of open lattice-work, they are ornamented with stained glass, representing landscapes and animals, particularly the lion, which seemed to be a favourite subject in works of this sort. No one has paid any attention to the origin of the painted glass in Cairo. Do the glaziers of that city still preserve an art supposed to be imperfectly known in Europe? From the open terraces which are found in many of the principal houses, and from the flat roofs common to all of them, a view is presented over the numerous gardens of the city. But every thing is disfigured, and rendered uncomfortable, by dust; all the foliage of the trees is covered with it; and the boasted vegetation of Cairo, (instead of displaying that pleasing verdure which Europeans, and particularly Englishmen, picture to their imagination, in reading descriptions of a city filled with groves and gardens,) rather exhibits the dull and uniform colour of the desert.

Upon the first evening after our removal to our new habitation, we were serenaded by a species of vocal melody, which we had never heard before. It began about sunset, and continued, with little intermission, not only the night, but during many succeeding nights and days. We were at first doubtful whether the sounds we heard were expressions of joy or of lamentation. A sort of chorus mixed with screams, yet regulated by the beating of tambourines, now swelling upon the ear, now expiring in cadences, was repeated continually; and as often as it seemed to cease, we heard it renew-

* See vol. II. sect. I. chap. xi. p. 210, of these travels. N. Y. ed.

† See the observations of Denon, *Trav. in Egypt*, vol. I. p. 211. Lond. 1803.

ed with increased vehemence. Having inquired the cause, we were told that it was nothing more than the usual ceremony of bewailing a deceased person, by means of female mourners hired for the occasion. This very curious relic of the *Ululation* of the ancients, it may be supposed, was not suffered to pass without further notice. We sent our interpreter to the house whence the sounds proceeded, desiring him to pay particular attention to the words used by the choristers in their lamentation. He told us, upon his return, that we might, if we thought proper, have the same ceremony performed in our apartments: that the singers were women, hired to sing and lament in this manner; the wealthier the family, the more numerous were the persons hired, and, of course, the louder the lamentations: that those female singers exhibited the most frightful distortions, having their hair dishevelled, their clothes torn, and their countenances daubed with paint and dirt; that they were relieved at intervals by other women similarly employed; and thus the ceremony may be continued for any length of time. A principal part of their art consists in mingling with their *Ululation* such plaintive expressions of praise and pity, such affecting narrative of the employments, possessions, and characteristics of the deceased, and such inquiry as to his reasons for leaving those whom he professed to love during life, as may excite the tears and sighs of the relations and friends collected about the corpse. From all this, and the information we afterwards obtained, it is evident that this practice, together with the *CAOINAN* of the Irish,* and the funeral cry of other nations,† are remains of ceremonies practised in honour of the

* See an account of the ceremony of *ululation* among the Irish, as taken from the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, in *Dr. Adam Clarke's* edition of "*Harmer's Observations*," vol. III. p. 40. *Lond.* 1808. Among other expressions used by the Irish mourners, they continually repeat the words "ULLALOO! ULLALOO! WHY DIDST THOU DIE?" "The *ullaloo* of the Irish," says the learned editor of Harmer's work, "is the same, both in sense and sound, with the *أولول*, *ooloolah* of the Arabians, the *ululo* of the Romans, the *δαδάλω* of the Greeks, and the *יָלָל* *yalal* of the Hebrews."

† The custom seems to have been universal; for it has been observed among the descendants of the three great families; the *Arab*, the *Tartar*, and the *Goth*. The *Arab*, as here related. The *Tartar*, as in Russia. (See *Olearius*, vol. iii. p. 143. *Lond.* 1662,) The *Goth*, *Geta*, or *Greeks*, as we learn from Homer. It is found even among the Greenlanders. "The women continue their weeping and lamentation. Their *howl* is all in one tone; as if an instrument were to play a tremulous fifth downwards, through all the semitones. Now and then they pause a little." See *Crantz's History of Greenland*, vol. I. p. 239. *Lond.* 1767. See also vol. I. of *these Travels*, p. 102. *N. York*, Edit. for an account of the same custom in Russia.

dead in almost every country of the earth; they are the same that Homer describes at the death of Hector;* and they are frequently alluded to in sacred record;—"CALL FOR THE MOURNING WOMEN, THAT THEY MAY COME; AND SEND FOR CUNNING WOMEN, THAT THEY MAY COME: AND LET THEM MAKE HASTE, AND TAKE UP A WAILING FOR US, THAT OUR EYES MAY RUN DOWN WITH TEARS, AND OUR EYELIDS GUSH OUT WITH WATERS."

As one writer of travels has copied another, the same absurd descriptions are continually given of the luxuries of Egypt, during the inundation of the Nile. That its gardens, from the novelty of the plants found in them, are sometimes pleasing to the eye of a European, may be admitted; and it has been before acknowledged, that the plantations adorning the sides of the canal may, for a short, time render a stranger unmindful of the filth and wretchedness of the city. As for the boasted lakes, or rather mud-pools, into which the waters of the river are then received, particularly the famous *Esbequir Birket*,† these would certainly be considered nuisances in any part of the civilized world. The canal had been cut about three days when we arrived; and every one was still telling of the rejoicings and ceremonies which that event had occasioned. These have been all described, until it were tedious to renew the subject. Some of our officers saw the pillar, or statue, of mud, which is raised every year between the dyke of the canal and the Nile, called *Anes*, or *The Bride*,‡ and afterwards carried away by the current, when the water from the river is suffered to fall into the

* ——— Παρά δ' ἔσαν αἰδοῦσαι,
Θρήνων ἐξάρχουσιν, οἷτε στονόεσσαν αἰδοῖν.
Οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἰθρήνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες.

—————"Juxtaque collocârunt cantores

Luctûs principes: hî flebile carmen,

Hi quidem lamentabantur: insuperque gemebant muliêres."

Homeri Iliados, lib. xxiv. p. 425. Ed. Spond. *Barl.* 1606.

† Jer. ix. 17, 18. See also 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. Judges xi. 39, 40. Amos v. 16, also Mark v. 38. &c. &c.

‡ It is quite amusing to read some of the accounts published of this place, and to contrast them with the real appearance. "*Rien n'est plus agréable que de voir un terrain, qui pendant huit mois de l'année est un prodigieux bassin rempli d'eau, devenu pendant les quatre autres un jardin riant et perpétuel.*" Description de l'Égypte, par Maillet, tom. I. p. 263. à la Haye, 1740. The same author speaks of the houses ornamenting the sides of this lake; whereas Denon observes, "*the less the houses were visible, the more they would please.*" Trav. in Egypt, vol. I. p. 105. Lond. 1803. In fact, nothing can be more wretched than either the one or the other; the filthy pool called a lake; or the hovels, described by many authors as *stately and elegant buildings*.

See Niebuhr's Travels, vol. I. p. 69. Edin. 1792.

canal. This curious custom is said to have given rise to the fabulous story of an annual sacrifice of a virgin to the Nile.* Niebuhr says, however, that the pillar of earth serves as a sort of Nilometer, for the use of the common people;† and this is probably the only use for which it was ever intended. We entered the canal, in our *djerm*, about noon, on the fifteenth of August; and after making the tour of nearly the whole city, by means of the canal, and a series of dykes filled with the muddy water of the river, we at last entered the *Esbequir* lake, or *Birket il Ezbequie*, at six o'clock P. M. Having crossed this piece of water, we landed, and went to the house we had taken; observing everywhere the same uniform appearance of dirt and degradation. The inhabitants, rejoicing in the expulsion of the French, and enjoying the festivity of the season, were carousing by the sides of the numerous channels then filled with the foul and stagnant water of the Nile. Some degree of danger too might be apprehended from the turbulent mirth of Turkish soldiers, who were firing off their carabines in all directions; or else the sight of so many cheerful groupes afforded of itself a much more pleasing spectacle, than either the buildings of the city or its boasted canal. But how Europeans, in speaking of Cairo, can call any thing *magnificent* which is surpassed even by the poorest parts of Venice, is truly surprising. To read some of the descriptions which have been given of this city,‡ one would fancy them derived

* Ibid. See also *De Tott*, vol. II. p. 243. *Lond.* 1785. De Tott says, the ancient Egyptians called the sacrifice *Arroussees*, The new Bride. This name, he observes, is still preserved in the more humanized ceremony. Moreri (*Dict. Hist.* tom VII. p. 1041. *Paris*, 1759,) thus speaks of the sacrifice, as having really existed: "*Les Egyptiens idolâtres s'imaginoient que leur dieu Serapis étoit l'auteur de ce débordement merveilleux du Nil: ainsi lorsqu'il retardoit, ils lui sacrifioient une fille, &c. Cette barbare dévotion fut abolie, disent les historiens Arabes, par le calife Omar.*" Neither Moreri, however, nor any other author by whom this circumstance is related, mentions his authority for the fact. Mentelle (*Geogr. Anc.* tom. II. p. 441. *Paris*, 1789.) alludes to the same custom. The whole story seems to be founded upon a passage in the writings of *Murtadi*, an Arabian, who gave a legendary account of the "*Wonders of Egypt*," which is nevertheless mentioned in terms of commendation by Gibbon, (*Chap. li. Note 120. Hist. &c.*) This work was composed in the 13th century, and was afterwards translated by *Vatier*, at *Paris*, 1666.—*Murtadi* affirms that the annual sacrifice of a virgin was abolished by the caliph Omar. But human sacrifices were never tolerated by the ancient Egyptians. Herodotus reproaches the Greeks with having entertained a contrary opinion; (*Euterpe*, c. 45. p. 106. *ed. Gronov. L. Bat.* 1715;) and it is less probable that such sacrifices were suffered to take place at the time of Omar's conquest when the Christians were in possession of Egypt.

† Niebuhr, vol. I. p. 69.

‡ "CETTE GRANDE ET ILLUSTRE VILLE," says Vansleb, (p. 117. *Nouvelle*

from the inflated accounts of Arabian writers, who, having never seen any thing finer than Caïro, speak of it as the "*Wonder of the world*," the "*Delight of the imagination*," "*the Great among the great*," the *Holy City*.* In fact, it may be said of Caïro, as of Egypt in general, that it has always been the subject of exaggeration, from the earliest periods of its history.†

We often visited the book-market, and found no sight more interesting than the prodigious number of beautiful manuscripts offered there for sale. A catalogue, published in the appendix to the first section of this part of our travels, will serve to render the great variety of works in oriental literature, which are upon daily sale in the cities of the East, more known than it has hitherto been.‡ We purchased many of these manuscripts. Writings of any celebrity bear very high prices, especially famous works in history, astronomy, geography, and natural history. The Mamelukes are more fond of reading than the Turks; and some of their libraries, in Caïro, contained volumes of immense price. The French had been guilty of so much plunder, that the booksellers, as well as other tradesmen, had for some time concealed their most valuable property. The best manuscripts were, therefore, only beginning to be exposed for sale. During our inquiry after a complete copy of the "*Arabian Nights*," a bookseller said he knew where to find a copy of this work; but that its owner had carefully concealed it, through fear of the French. The title of this compilation, in Arabic, "*Alif Lila va Jilin*," is vulgarly pronounced, by the dealers in Caïro *Alf Leela o Lila*. To our very great joy, this manuscript, or rather collection of manuscripts, was brought to us, in four quarto cases, containing one hundred and seventy-two tales, separated into *one thousand and one* portions, for recital during the same number of *nights*. Each case contained about fifty numbers, sewed up like so many loose manuscript sermons. The whole was fairly written; and the price set upon it amounted only to the moderate sum of one hundred piasters, (about seven pounds English,) according to the state of exchange at that time. We

Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte, Paris, 1677. "ELLE EST SITUÉE DANS UNE PLAINE LA PLUS DÉLICIEUSE DU MONDE." (*Ibid.* p. 120.)

* See Denon's Trav. vol. I. p. 103. Lond. 1803.

† "I never saw a place I liked worse, nor which afforded less pleasure or instruction, than Caïro, nor antiquities which less answered their descriptions." *Bruce's Travels*, vol. I. p. 33. Edinb. 1790.

‡ See part the second, section the first. Appendix, No. II.

bought it; and its lamentable fate has been before related.* This is to be the more regretted, because many of the tales† related to Syrian and Egyptian customs and traditions, and have not been found in any other copy of the same work.

A few cursory observations may now be introduced, as they were made, and as the author finds them occurring in his journal. Who could have believed that ancient Roman coins were still in circulation in any part of the world? yet this is strictly true. We noticed Roman copper medals in Caïro, as given in exchange in the markets among the coins of the country, and valued at something less than our half-penny. What is more remarkable, we obtained some of the large bronze medals of the Ptolemies, circulating at higher value, but in the same manner. The manufacture of silk and cotton handkerchiefs had been taught to the inhabitants by the French. Such handkerchiefs were then selling for seven shillings English each; and it was in buying these that we first noticed the circulation of the ancient among the modern money of Egypt. The Arabs, who generally sing during labour, use the ancient Hebrew invocation of the deity while they are passing, in their boats, beneath a bridge; calling out ELOHE! ELOHE! in a plaintive singing tone of voice.‡ The females of Caïro are often seen, in the public streets, riding upon asses and upon mules: they sit in the masculine attitude, like the women of Naples and other parts of Italy. Their dress consists of a hood, and cloak, extending to the feet, with a stripe of white calico in front, concealing the face and breast, but having two small holes for the eyes. In this disguise, if any man should meet his own wife, or his sister, he would not be able to recognise her, unless she were to speak to him; and this is seldom done, because the suspicious moslems, observing such an intercourse, might suppose an intrigue to be going on; in which case they would put one, if not both of them, to death. The Turks had committed great enormities in Caïro, from the first moment of their arrival after the capture of the city. Wherever they found an unfortunate female, of whatsoever rank, who had admitted the embraces of a Frenchman, or of any other christian, they put her to death, without the smallest compunction. We assisted three ladies

* See note (*), p. 31 of the second volume.

† See the list given in No. III. of the Appendix to the preceding section of *part the second* of these travels.

‡ See Genesis, xxxiii. 20. also Mark, xv. 34.

in their escape; and had the good fortune to provide them with the means of concealment, until they reached the house of a relation in Alexandria. A young man who lived in the same house with us, in a set of apartments under ours, was wounded by a musket-ball on the day of our arrival. He had been looking from the terrace at some Turks below, when one of them fired off his piece, and shot him. The only excuse made was, that they mistook him for a Frenchman. In like manner they strangled a christian in one of the public baths; offering the same apology for the act they had committed. Notwithstanding the circumstance of the city's being at that time garrisoned by our troops, it was not safe to venture alone in public. We were riding one day with a priest of the *Propaganda* monastery, mounted upon asses; when suddenly a party of bostanghies, belonging to a Turk of distinction, running before his horse, ordered us to descend until the grandee had passed. This we positively refused to do; upon which, not daring to meddle with us, they vented all their rage upon the poor priest, whom they dragged from his ass, and chastised with their white wands in our presence. Complaint was accordingly made to the officers of the garrison, and to the vizier; and a promise obtained from the Turks of better behaviour in future; upon which, however, little reliance could be placed. The English had a very small force, at that time, in Cairo; and it was deemed prudent not to exasperate a fanatical mob, by any violation of their pride or their prejudices, when it could be avoided. The events that took place afterwards, in Egypt, fully justified this precaution. Nevertheless, orders had been issued, that no Englishman should be compelled to descend and humble himself before a moslem, which caused us to offer the resistance we had made.

Soon after this adventure, descending from our house to a part of the canal where our djerm was stationed, with a view to make an excursion upon the water, we found it completely filled by a party of dastardly Turks; who had expelled the worthy *Reis*, to whom the boat belonged, together with his crew, and had taken full possession of it, for their own use. These grave personages were seated quite at their ease, with their pipes lighted; and were moving off in great state, as we arrived. There was not much time to be lost in idle parley; so we all leaped, from the side of the canal, into the midst of the self constituted

divân, whose members instantly surrendered, with great seeming humility, and, being landed, scampered off with more speed and less composure than usually characterizes the Turkish deportment. The matter, however, did not end here. Watching the opportunity when our good *Reis* was again left to the guardianship of his *djerm*, they bound him hand and foot, and carried him to a house in the neighbourhood, where they bastinadoed him most unmercifully, by way of wreaking their vengeance upon us, for the indignity they had experienced; nor could we ever bring the offenders to justice, or obtain, for the person they had thus injured, the slightest redress. Such was the state of affairs in Grand Cairo, at the time the English were in possession of the city. It may be easily imagined, therefore, what the situation of its christian inhabitants must be, when all things are left to the discretion of its mahometan masters.

The extortions practised upon the inhabitants exceed all credibility. The French, at one time, levied a contribution of ten millions of piastres; and of this sum a single merchant paid fifty thousand dollars. The same person, upon the subsequent arrival of the grand vizier with his army, was compelled to pay the enormous sum of three hundred and sixty thousand dollars. Neither Bonaparte nor Kleber distressed the people of Cairo, by their extortions, so much as did Menou, who, in the latter part of his tyrannical government, omitted no measures whereby he might plunder the inhabitants of their property. Nothing was too mean for his avarice; nothing large enough for his rapacity. In addition to all the privations and horrors the citizens had endured, the plague spread its ravages to every corner of the city, and thirty-two thousand persons, in one year, became its victims. A disorder, not less fatal than the plague, (the dysentery,) begins to prevail when the plague retires; but this principally attacks strangers. Colonel Stewart's regiment, quartered at Djiza, near the pyramids, was reduced, by this complaint, in one month, from three hundred men to seventy. The colonel was lodged in the palace of Murad Bey. Of this edifice it is difficult to give an idea by description: it contained barracks capable of quartering sixty thousand men, including a very great proportion of cavalry; together with a cannon foundry, and every thing necessary for the immense system of warfare carried on by that prince,

who rivalled in wealth and power the ancient sovereigns of Egypt.

Upon the nineteenth of August, our friend Mr. Hammer breakfasted with us, and brought with him a valuable Arabic manuscript, presented to him by the consul Rosetti, of very diminutive size, but most exquisitely written. The translation of it, by Mr. Hammer, has since been published in England; and this work, although hitherto little regarded by the public, merits particular notice. It professes to explain the hieroglyphics, and many ancient alphabets; giving, moreover, an account of the Egyptian priests, their classes, initiation, and sacrifices.* It illustrates the origin of placing embalmed birds in the catacombs of Saccára; a circumstance that will be again alluded to, in describing those subterraneous repositories.

We then set out for the citadel. After the numerous accounts published of this place, it were useless to write a particular description of it.† The most interesting parts of it to an English traveller, as connected with the history of the architecture of his country, are the splendid remains of buildings erected by the ancient caliphs of Egypt, particularly the edifice vulgarly called "*Joseph's Palace*," built by sultan *Salah ed din*, or *Saladine*, whose name was Joseph.‡ Here we beheld those pointed arches, which although constructed soon after the middle of the twelfth century, by a fanatic moslem,§ (now ranked among the Maho-

* For this publication the world is indebted to the munificent patronage of earl Spencer and of sir Joseph Banks, at whose expense, principally, the undertaking took place; also to the literary care of Dr. C. Wilkins, Librarian to the East India Company. (See the account given of it in the *Naval Chronicle*, vol. xxii. p. 392.) The title is as follows: "*Ancient Alphabets and Hieroglyphic Characters explained; with an account of the Egyptian Priests, their Classes, Initiation, and Sacrifices, in the Arabic Language, by AHMAD BIK ABUBEKKE BIN WAHSHI; and in English, by JOSEPH HAMMER, Secretary to the Imperial (Austrian) Legation at Constantinople. London. Nicoll. Pall-Mall, 1806.*"

† "Aloft, and neere the top of the mountaine, against the south end of the city, stands the castle, (once the stately mansion of the mamaluck Sultans, and destroyed by Selymus,) ascended unto by one way onely, and that hewne out of the rocke, which rising leisurely with easie steps, and spacious distances, (though of a great height,) may be on horsebacke, without difficulty, mounted." *Sandy's Travels*, p. 122. *London. 1637.* The reader may be referred to *lord Valentia's Travels* for the best account of the place; and, above all, for the accurate and beautiful views of the buildings in it, which his lordship published, after *Mr. Salt's* designs made upon the spot. See vol. III. p. 372, &c. *London. 1809.* See also Niebuhr, vol. I. p. 59. *Edin. 1792.*

‡ Niebuhr, *ibid.*

§ "In a fanatic age, himself a fanatic." *Gibbon*, vol. xi. p. 119. *London. 1807.*

metan saints, for his rigid adherence to all the prejudices of Islam,*) certain English antiquaries would fancifully attribute to the labours of English workmen.†

To increase the interest excited by the examination of sultan Saladin's magnificent palace, Mr. Hammer had the satisfaction to discover, among many Arabic inscriptions yet remaining in the great hall of the building, one in excellent preservation, and in large characters, which he copied, with this legend;

SALLAHEDDIN, DESTROYER OF INFIDELS AND HEATHENS :

so that the origin of the building, and its date, which before rested, in great measure, on tradition, is thereby established. Had it not been for these inscriptions, it might have been considered as of higher antiquity than the age of *Saladin*; for, in many respects, it resembles edifices erected in the age of Justinian; and particularly in the profusion of Mosaic painting, whereby its stately ceilings and walls are ornamented. We collected specimens of this Mosaic. The French, who made use of the building as an hospital, had

* "All profane science was the object of his aversion." *Ibid.* p. 118.

† See Milner on the *Eccles. Architect. of England*. Not that, by the removal of this solitary objection to the *English origin* of the *pointed arch*, any satisfactory conclusion could be drawn, as to the want of its existence elsewhere in the East. This kind of arch, according to its very best proportions, as defined by the advocates for its English origin, (See Milner, as above, p. 104, Note a,) and as it became fashionable in England between the end of the thirteenth and the latter part of the fifteenth century, is a peculiar characteristic of the architecture of the Saracens in Egypt, in all their oldest buildings. (See the designs of *Luigi Mayer*, as published by *sir R. Ainslie*.) It moreover exists in some of the sepulchres in Upper Egypt, and among the ruins of Tartar edifices, in the remote district of Madshary between the Kuma and Byvalla rivers. See *Pallas's Travels in the south of Russia*, vol. I. plates xii. and xiii. and vignette 6. See also the remains of the same style of *Architecture*, *Fragments des Voyages*, plate xx. p. 430. Berne, 1792. In the "*Voyages de Chardin*," tome troisième, are several views of the interior of different Persian palaces, of caravanserais, bridges, &c. Each of these plates affords specimens of the pointed arch. There is a remarkable curve in all these arches. At about two thirds of the distance from the spring of the arch to its summit, the curvature becomes convex to the interior of the arch. The same remark is applicable to some pointed arches in the elevation and section of a sepulchral monument at *Moskof Kunt*, on the river *Pokuma*, at the foot of Caucasus, as given in *Pallas's Travels*, plate xiv. This curious circumstance of the convex curvature, between the spring of the arch and its vertex is not, however, peculiar to the pointed arch in the East: it is found in buildings erected in the beginning of the fifteenth century in England. An instance occurs in the arched niches, for the reception of images, above the altar of an old church of the Holy Trinity, now the Rectory church, at *Harlton* in *Cambridgeshire*.

torn it down, in many places, during their residence here, and scattered it among the rubbish. It corresponded, in a remarkable manner, both by the nature of its composition, and by the style of the workmanship, with the Mosaic ornaments of St. Sophia at Constantinople; containing the same gilded and coloured *fritta*, imbedded in fine mortar, as white as snow. The principal remains of Mosaic painting were in a room opposite to the great hall; and the subjects so represented, exhibited castles, houses, trees, gardens, fruit, flowers, and animals. Among the substances used for this kind of work, we observed pieces of the shell called *Mother of Pearl*: this may be considered, perhaps, peculiar to the Mosaic of the age of Saladine; as it does not appear among the tessellated pavements of the ancients, nor in the Mosaic of St. Sophia. The materials of ancient Mosaic generally consisted of small pieces of variously coloured glass; although, in some parts of St. Sophia, the *tesserae* are of marble of different hues. The curious art of painting in Mosaic existed in a very remote period. Several writers maintain that it was derived originally from Persia;* in proof of this, they cite the first chapter of the book of Esther, where it is said of the palace of Ahasuerus† that “the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white and black marble.” Pliny, however, attributes the invention to the Greeks.‡ Works in Mosaic were by the Greeks appropriated to the pavement of their temples and dwellings. Many of the floors in the houses at Pompeii have this kind of covering. It was in a later age that the same sort of ornament was used for lining walls, and for coating the interior of domes and vaulted buildings.§ In process of time, tables were thus constructed, which, being fixed in marble frames might be moved without loosening the *tesserae*. Celebrated pictures in Mosaic, the work of Grecian artists, existed among the Romans.|| This admirable invention, capa-

* See Winkelmann, *Hist. de l'Art*, tom. II. p. 157. Paris, An. 2 de la République.

† C. I. v. 6.

‡ “Pavimenta originem apud Græcos habent elaborata arte, picturae ratione, donec lithostrota expulserunt eam.” *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 25. L. Bot.* 1635.

§ “Pulsa deinde ex humo pavimenta; in cameras transiêre, è vitro novitum et hoc inventum.” (*Ibid.*) “Ensuite elle a servi à revêtir les voûtes des bâtimens.” *Winkelmann, Hist. de l'Art, ubi supra*, p. 158.

|| Witness the celebrated work of *Sosus of Pergamus*, mentioned by Pliny, (*lib. xxxvi. c. 25.*) of the Dove drinking out of a Vase of Water, found in

ble of giving perpetuity to works in painting, has survived the downfall of letters; but it has never penetrated beyond the Alps: it still exists in Italy, where it has been carried to a degree of perfection unknown in any former age. The finest works of Raphael, and of other great masters, have been thus copied; and these copies may defy the attacks to which the originals were liable, while they preserve all their perfections. Miniature painting of the most exquisite colouring has also been executed in the same manner; the artist using vitrified *tesserae* of different hues, instead of liquid colours. The gilded *tesserae* which we procured from the Mosaic of Saladine's palace, resemble, in size and appearance, those of the Mosaics which line the domes of buildings in Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Venice, and Constantinople; all of these were the works of Grecian artists, as the inscriptions yet remaining imply. Each *tessera* is a cube of glass, of the size of our common playing dice, traversed by a thin film of gold, in such a manner that the gold leaf does not lie coating the exterior surface, but appears through a vitrified superficies.

One of the marvels of Egypt, in former times, was the fountain belonging to the citadel, called "*Joseph's Well*;" but since the country has been accessible to enlightened travellers, it is no longer considered as any thing extraordinary.* A regular descent, by steps, has been cut to it, through the soft calcarious rock on which the citadel stands, to the depth of two hundred and seventy-six feet. The mouth of the well is twenty-four feet in length, and eighteen in breadth.† As an example of human labour, Niebuhr considers it to be not at all comparable to the works of the ancient Indians, who have cut the whole pagodas in the very hardest rocks.‡ Yet it must be confessed that few similar designs have ever been attempted; and if

Adrian's Villa at Tivoli, and lately preserved in the Capitol at Rome; the celebrated works of Dioscorides of Samos, found in Herculaneum; and the famous Mosaic of Palestrina. See *Winkelmann*, lib. iv. c. 8. sect. 47. Also lib. vi. c. 7. sect. 18, &c.

* It is not, in fact, the only work of the kind in the neighbourhood of Cairo. The consul Maillet found five other wells, of the same nature, in the ruins of old Cairo. "J'en ai découvert cinq à-peu-près semblables dans les ruines du vieux Caire, au pied des montagnes vers lesquelles la ville s'élevait depuis les bords du Nil, par un espèce d'environ trois quarts de lieue. Ils sont de même creusés dans le roc, et d'une profondeur étonnante." *Déscription de l'Égypte*, tom. I. p. 269. à La Haye, 1740.

† Norden's Travels, vol. I. p. 65. Lond. 1757.

‡ Niebuhr's Travels, vol. I. p. 59. Edinb. 1792.

the skill which has been shown in conducting the excavation be taken into consideration, the perforations for admitting light all the way down, and the general perfection of the work itself, it may be compared rather to the labours of the ancient Egyptians, than to any modern undertaking.

Other parts of this citadel afford reason to believe that an establishment was made here long before the time of the Saracen caliphs. Not to insist upon the appearance of hieroglyphic inscriptions mentioned by Paul Lucas,* and which perhaps belonged to the remains of edifices brought here as building materials, yet, from the size of some of the stones upon which a modern superstructure has been raised, as well as from the conformity of its general appearance as an Acropolis, to the plans of the most ancient cities, it may be inferred that a citadel existed here before any Saracen settlement had taken place in this part of Egypt.

The subject seems to merit more attention than it has yet received. *Abdol Caliph*, in his History of Egypt,† ascribes both the well and the castle to *Saladine*;‡ but Shaw, who mentions this circumstance, says, it was the restoration of the citadel, rather than its construction, which should be ascribed to *Saladine*. Savary, upon the authority of an Arabian writer, maintains that the origin of the city and castle of Cairo must be ascribed to the Saracens.§ Yet, notwithstanding Savary's oriental researches, the citadel of Cairo may stand upon the spot once occupied by the Acropolis of the Egyptian Babylon: this opinion, maintained by Shaw in opposition to Pococke, who assigned a different position for the Babylonian fortress,|| is further confirmed by the style of the work used in the structure; by the skill manifested in hewing the rock upon which it stands, for the way up to it; for the well; and for other purposes. Pococke affirmed that the hill itself seemed to have been separated, by art,¶ from the eastern extremity of mount *Mokatam*; and

* "J'appercûs même, sur quelques-uns de ces pierres, plusieurs caractères hiéroglyphiques qui sont de la première antiquité." *Voyage du Paul Lucas*, tom. II. p. 126. *Amst.* 1714.

† P. 85. See Shaw's Travels, vol. II. p. 265. *Lond.* 1757.

‡ *Salah Oddin Joseph Ebn Job*, as written by Shaw.

§ Lettres sur l'Egypte, tom. I. p. 84. *Paris*, 1786.

|| "Old Cairo seems to have succeeded to the town and fortress of Babylon, which I imagine to have been on mount *Jehusi*, at the south end of old Cairo." *Pococke's Description of the East*, vol. I. p. 25. *Lond.* 1743.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 32.

this name, according to Shaw,* signifies "*a mountain hewn, or cut through.*" Such immense labour is more characteristic of an Assyrian colony, than of the Arabians, in any period of their history: and that such a settlement was actually made many ages before the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, is clear from the evidence of Diodorus Siculus,† of Strabo,‡ and of Josephus.§ But long before the foundation, even of the Egyptian Babylon, an establishment had taken place upon the same spot. The situation of the citadel of Cairo corresponds with the locality of a city almost as old as Memphis. The district in which it stands was the land of *Goshen*, or *Rameses* of scripture, assigned by Joseph unto his father and his brethren, that they might be *near* to the seat of the Egyptian kings.|| Their first settlement was in the same territory, at *On*,¶ the *BETHSHEMESH* of the prophet Jeremiah,** both of which names are rendered, in the Septuagint, *HELIOPOLIS*;†† but in their departure, according to Josephus, they passed by the ruins of a city called *Letopolis*,‡‡ upon the site of which Cambyses afterwards erected the Egyptian *Babylon*.§§

Among all the sights which this extraordinary country presents to the eyes of a European traveller, there is nothing more novel than the view of objects beheld from the citadel.|||| A very considerable district, whether the spec-

* Shaw's Travels, *ubi supra*.

† Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 52. *Hanov.* 1564.

‡ Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1143. ed. *Oxon.* 1807.

§ Josephus de Antiq. Jud. lib. ii. c. 15. *Colon.* 1691.

|| "And thou shalt be *near unto me*, thou and thy children." Gen. xiv. 10.

¶ Josephus uses the words τῷ 'ΗΛΙΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 4.

** Jerem. xliii. 13.

†† 'Ηλιοπόλις.

‡‡ So called from *Αντὸς*, *Latona Dea*. It has been confounded with *Letopolis*. See the notes to the Oxford edition of Strabo, vol. II. p. 1143. Might not the annual sacrifice of a *virgin* to the Nile, which is said by some authors to have happened here at the period of its inundation, have some reference to the mythological history of the persecution of *Latona* by the serpent *Pylon*?

§§ Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 15. *Colon.*

|||| After the author's return to England, he often endeavoured to direct the attention of some *panorama* painter of London to this curious spot; being convinced that a more surprising subject for that kind of painting could not be found in any other part of the world. Some years afterwards, a view of Cairo, painted by Mr. Barker, after designs of Mr. Salt, was exhibited in Leicester fields. The effect, however, was deficient. The objects represented, and especially the pyramids, were too diminutive; the remarkable contrast of colour, and the peculiar hues displayed by the original scene were not preserved; and the general cast of the scenery had too much the air of a European landscape. As a picture, considering the difficulty en-

tator regard the east or the south, is distinguished by one uniform buff colour. Towards the north, this colour is opposed by the most vivid green that imagination can conceive; covering all the Delta. Upon the west are seen the pyramids, reflecting the sun's beams, and as white as snow. In order that the reader may comprehend the exact situation of all that is seen from hence, this chapter may conclude by a detail of the relative position of the different objects, as they were observed by a mariner's compass. This mode of description was frequently used by the celebrated Wheler, in the account he published of his travels in Greece;* and it will be occasionally adopted in the remaining chapters of this section.

VIEW *from the* CITADEL of CAIRO.

East.

A very unusual and striking spectacle; all the landscapes being of a buff, or bright stone colour; and the numerous buildings in view having the hue of the plains on which they stand. In the distance is an arid desert, without a single mark of vegetation. Nearer to the eye appear immense heaps of sand, the obelisk of Heliopolis, and the stately mosques, minarets, and sepulchres, belonging to a cemetery of the caliphs in a suburb of Cairo, called *Beladeensan*; a place crowded with buildings of a singular form.†

South East.

Hills and broken mounds, disposed, in vast masses, with very great grandeur.

South.

A grand scene of desolation; the same buff colour prevailing over every object. In the fore-ground are the lofty quarries of mount Mokatam, with ruined castles, mouldering domes, and the remains of other edifices, above, below, and stretching beneath the heights, far into the plain. More distant, appear the mountains of Upper Egypt, flanking

countered by an artist in the representation of a scene he had never beheld, it was a work of great merit; but to delineate with fidelity that which is like *nothing else*, the artist must himself visit Egypt.

* See Wheler's Travels, pp. 410. 442. 449. &c. Lond. 1682.

† See plate 24, in the large Paris edition of Denon's Travels,

the eastern bank of the Nile, and a wide, misty view of the *Said*.

South West, and West.

Immediately beneath the eye is seen the aqueduct, supported by arches, and extending two miles in length from the Nile to the citadel; together with mosques, minarets, and immense heaps of sand. But the grand object viewed in this direction, is the Nile itself. At this time, having attained its greatest elevation, extending over a wide surface, and flowing with great rapidity, it appeared covered with barges belonging to the army, and the various vessels of the country, spreading their enormous sails on every part of it. The ruins of Old Cairo, the Island and groves of Rhouda, enrich this fine prospect. Beyond the river appears the town of Djiza, amidst the most beautiful groves of sycamore, fig, and palm trees; still more remote, the pyramids of Djiza and Saccara; and, beyond these, the great Libyan Desert, extending to the utmost verge of the visible horizon; a vast ocean of sand.

North West, and North.

The green plains of the Delta occupy all the distant perspective in this direction, like so many islands, covered with groves and gardens, and adorned with white edifices; among these the djerms, the canjas, and other beautiful boats of the Nile, are seen sailing.

North East.

The whole city of Cairo, extending from the north towards the north east, and surrounded, in the latter direction, by heaps of sand. Immediately beneath the spectator, is seen a grand and gloomy structure, called *The Mosque of Sultan Hassan*, standing close to one of two lakes, which appear among the crowded buildings of the city.

Such is the surprising and highly diversified view from the citadel of Grand Cairo. It will not be too much to affirm of this extraordinary prospect, that a scene more powerfully affecting the mind, by the singularity of its association, is not elsewhere contained within any scope of human observation; a profusion of nature, amidst her most awful privation; a disciplined army, encamped amidst lawless banditti; British pavilions, and Bedouin tents; luxurious

gardens, and barren deserts; the pyramid and the mosque; the obelisk and the minaret; the sublimest monuments of human industry, amidst mouldering relics of Saracenic power.



CHAP. IV.

HELIPOLIS, AND THE PYRAMIDS OF DJIZA.

Passage along the Canal—Visit to HELIOPOLIS—Mata-réa—Pillar of ON—Style of the Hieroglyphics—Intelligence concerning them—Their Archetypes—Cruz an-sata—Its meaning explained—Of the Hieralpha and the Testudo—Other Symbols—Kircher—History of the Obelisk—Minerals of the Arabian Desert—Doubtful origin of the Egyptian Jasper—Petrifactions—Dates and Corns—ALMEHS—Of the Alleluia, and cry of lamentation—Voyage to the PYRAMIDS—Appearance presented by the principal Pyramid—Objects seen from the summit—Nature of the Limestone used in its construction—Extraneous Fossil described by Strabo—Mortar—Labours of the French Army—Theft committed by an Arab—Visit to the interior of the larger Pyramid—Notions entertained of its violation—Its passages—Observation at the Well—Examination of some inferior Channels—Chamber of the Sepulchre—The SOROS—Its demolition attempted—The SPHINX—Its surface found to be painted—Discovery of an ancient Inscription—Custom of painting ancient Statues—Extract from Pauw. . .

OUR house in Grand Cairo stood in a principal street, near the northern bank of the canal; so that our djerm, being always at hand, served us, like a gondola at Venice, instead of a carriage; and we frequently used it to visit the different parts of the city accessible by canals. Upon the twenty-first of August, the inundation being nearly at its height, we attempted a passage by water to the utmost extremity of the *Annis Trajanis*,* in the direction of the *Birk*

* The *Khalig*, or principal canal of Cairo, believed to be the ΤΡΙΑΝΟΕ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ of Ptolemy, (*Vid. Geo. lib. iv. c. 5.*) and called also, by some writers, FOSSA TRAJANA. Savary, upon the authority of *Elmacin*, an Ara-

el Hadjee, or *Pilgrim's Lake*, which was the first station of the great caravan, in its journey to Mecca. We soon found our progress obstructed by the arch of a bridge, which was so low, that our djerin could not pass beneath it, and we were compelled to return.

The next day, having obtained horses and a janizary, we set out again, in the same direction, by land, desirous of seeing the remains of HELIOPOLIS, one of the most ancient cities of the world whereof a vestige can now be traced. More than eighteen hundred years ago its ruins attracted the regard of the most enlightened travellers of Greece and Rome. Nearly thirty years before the Christian æra they were visited by Strabo; and the interesting description which he has given of them, proves the condition of that once famous seat of science to have been then almost as desolate as at the present period. If, as Shaw has ingeniously attempted to prove,* the accretion of soil, from the annual inundation of the Nile, "*has been in a proportion of somewhat more than a foot in a hundred years,*" we might search for some of the antiquities mentioned by Strabo, at the depth of

his historian, attributes this work entirely to Omar, and says it was Adrian, rather than Trajan, who caused a canal to be dug near Cairo. (*Lettres sur l'Egypte*, tom. I. p. 94. Paris, 1785.) There is, however, reason to believe that Omar's work was merely a restoration of the ancient dyke. It extends eastward of the Nile, to the distance of twelve miles, and is terminated by the *Pilgrim's Lake*. Formerly it was continued to *Herôopolis*, upon the banks of the Red Sea. This undertaking was begun by *Sesostris*, carried on by *Darius*, and finished by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. Its last restoration took place in the year 644, under caliph Omar. (*Strabon. Geog. lib. xviii. tom. II. p. 1140. Edit. Oxon. See also the notes in the Oxford edition of Strabo.*) The history of this great undertaking, in its origin, is thus related by Pliny, who says the design was abandoned through fear of inundating Egypt with the waters of the Red Sea. "*Daneon portus, ex quo navigabilem alveum prducere in Nilum, (quâ parte ad Delta dictum decurrit) lxxii. mill. pass. intervallo, quod inter flumen et Rubrum mare interest) primus omnium Sesostris Ægypti rex cogitavit; mox Darius Persarum: deinde Ptolemæus sequens; qui et duxit fossam latitudine pedum centum, altitudine triginta, in longitudinem xxxvii. mill. p. pass. usque ad fontes amaros; ultra deterruit inundationis metus, exaltiore tribus cubitis Rubro mari comperto, quam terra Ægypti.*" (*Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 29, tom. I. p. 331. L. Bat. 1635.*) According to the passage which Savary has translated from *Elmacin*, Omar's lieutenant, Amrou, opened the communication between the Red Sea and the Nile by means of this canal; and a navigation, bearing the produce of Egypt, actually commenced. "*Les bateaux partant de Fostat, portèrent dans le Mer de Cotsoum les denrées de l'Egypte.*" (*Voy. Lett. sur l'Egypte*, tom. I. p. 96. Paris, 1785.) "Such," says Savary, "is the origin of that famous canal, which travellers, copying each other, have called *Amnis Trojanus*." Be it remembered, however, that in this number are *Poocke* and *Shaw*; and with all deference to Savary's great abilities, and to his predilection for Arabic histories, it may be presumed that neither of these writers was unacquainted with the sources whence the French author derived his information.

* Travels, Second Edition, p. 388. ch. II. sect. 3.

six yards below the present surface. But when Pococke visited the place, he observed the fragments of Sphinxes yet remaining, in the ancient way leading to the eminence on which the Temple of the Sun stood, between the principal entrance to its area, and the southern side of the obelisk standing before it.* The Sphinxes which Pococke saw, were, in fact, a part of the identical antiquities that were noticed by Strabo so many centuries before;† whence it is reasonable to conclude, that very little labour would be necessary to excavate even the pavement of the temple.‡ From the observations made by Pococke, he deduces an inference, that the utmost height to which the soil has accumulated does not exceed seven feet and a half.§ At the time of our visit to Heliopolis, all the area of the ancient temple was under water; so that any search of this kind was thereby prevented.

Our road to this place from Cairo was along the southern side of the canal, through the most fertile gardens, and amidst thick groves of olive and orange trees. In our way, we halted at *Mataréa*, a village which is generally believed to occupy a part of the site of the ancient city.|| Here travellers are entertained with a number of absurd superstitions, similar to those already described in the account of the Holy Land. The principal number of Christians who visit *Mataréa* are pilgrims, attracted by the supposed sanctity of the spot, as connected with the history of our Saviour. The celebrated *Fountain of the Sun*,** whence the city itself seems

* Pococke's Descript. of the East, vol. I. p. 23. Lond. 1743.

† Διὰ δὲ τοῦ μήκους παντός ἐξ ἧς ἐκ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ πλάτους σφίγγες ἰδρύνται λίθου πρῆξις εἰκόσιν, ἥ μικρῶ πλείους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέχουσαι, δισθ' ἵνα μὲν ἐκ διζυῶν ἵναυ στίκον (στοῖχον) τῶν σφιγγῶν, ἵνα δ' ἐκ εὐανόμων. "Per totam vero longitudinem deinceps ex utraque latitudinis parte sunt positæ lapideæ sphinges, vicinis cubitis, vel paulo pluribus inter se distantes: ut altera sphingum series sit a dextra, altera a sinistra." *Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. tom. II. p. 1142. Edit. Oxon.*

‡ Ibid.

Descript. of the East, vol. I. p. 23.

|| This place is said by *Quaresmius* to be ten geographical miles from Cairo, (*Vid. Elucid. Terr. Sanct. tom. II. p. 948. Antv. 1639.*) meaning, probably, from Old Cairo; as it is only five from Grand Cairo, according to *Bernardino*.

** Called *Ain Schemps* by the Arabs, which agrees with the name of *Heliopolis*, as found in *Abulfeda*, and cited by the learned *Kircher*; *Oedip. Egypt. tom. III. p. 331. Rom. 1655.* "Ain Schemps, sive *Heliopolis*, quam et *Oculum seu fontem Solis appellant*, temporibus nostris desolata est, neque sunt in ea habitationes ullæ; et dicitur, quod fuerit civitas Pharaonis: sunt in ea insignia antiquitatis monumenta, constructa ex lapidibus et saxis maximis; inter cætera verò columna quadrata, quæ vocatur *Acus Pharaonis* (*id est Obeliscus*), longitudo ejus 30 cubitorum, etque à Cayro serè media intergala; est etiam ibidem villa dicta *Mataréa*, sita ad latus sinistrum Orientalis Nilii."

to have been originally named, and whose delicious water attracted the earliest settlers to the eastern side of the Nile, was, according to monkish legends, only known from the time that the *Holy Family* came into Egypt. It burst forth, they say, when the Virgin with Joseph and the infant Jesus reposed themselves, in their flight from the fury of Herod. We breakfasted beneath the shade of a sycamore fig tree, which is said to have opened, and to have received the fugitives, when closely pursued :* and here we listened to ma-

* It may be proper to notice here a very extraordinary doubt of the learned Larcher concerning this city, as it is expressed in the *Table Géographique*, published in the appendix to his translation of Herodotus. M. Larcher asserts, in opposition to every preceding writer, that Heliopolis was situated in the Delta, and that *Mataréa* stands on the site of an insignificant town of the same name, which has been confounded with the more renowned city. For this assertion M. Larcher offers no proof whatsoever ; but refers his reader to a separate dissertation, which he intends to publish upon this subject. With the utmost deference to that profound scholar, it may be surely urged, that what Kircher, Pococke, and Shaw, considered to be established, will not be hastily abandoned. In addition to this it may be asked, do not the remains of Sphinxes, noticed by Pococke, confirm the description given by Strabo of the ruins of Heliopolis ? Do not the stupendous Obelisks, one of which is now standing, (*two others were taken to Rome, vid. Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1142. Ed. Oxon.*) indicate, beyond a possibility of contradiction, the vestiges of no *inconsiderable city* ! The observations of Strabo concerning the situation of the *Ἡλιopolίτης νομός*, and the τοῦ *Ἡλίου πόλις*, are given with remarkable precision ; and when these are compared with the observations made by modern travellers, the evidence for the position of the city is complete ; and nothing seems likely to supersede it. He is describing the country along the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile ; and coming to the canal between that river and the Red Sea, he deduces its origin from a period anterior to the Trojan War. The subject leads him to Arsinoë, near which city this canal joined the *Sinus Heroöpolites*. Thence returning to the Nile, he speaks of places on its eastern side, which are near to the southern point or vertex of the Delta ; mentioning first *Bubastus*, then *Heliopolis*, *Letopolis*, &c. and their respective *nomes* ; enumerating these as they occurred from the north towards the south, until he reaches the Nile beyond the Delta ; and speaks of Libya as being on the right, and Arabia upon the left : “ *Wherefore,*” says he, “ *the Heliopolitan district is in Arabia.*” *Ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἡλιopolίτις ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ ἐστίν.* After this observation, can it be affirmed that Heliopolis was in the Delta ? Another very remarkable observation of Strabo may be cited, with reference to antiquities observed by Maillet, which seem to prove, not only that *Mataréa* denotes the site of *Heliopolis*, but also that *Old Cairo* stands within the Letopolitan district ; it is, the mention he makes of certain *Caves*, or pits, for astronomical observations, lying in the *Letopolitan prefecture*, beyond Heliopolis. Maillet discovered, among the ruins of Old Cairo, several pits excavated to a very great depth in the rock, after the manner of *Joseph's Well*. (See the note to p. 59. of this volume.) These correspond with the notions at present entertained of the astronomical wells of the ancients ; and perhaps they are the *Astronomical Caves* alluded to by Strabo. For other particulars concerning *Heliopolis*, see *Heralot. Euterpe* ; *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v. c. 57. *Ptolemæus* ; *Stephanus* ; &c. &c.

* See an engraving of the well ; the edifice erected over it ; and of this tree ; in Bernardino's *Trattato delle Pianta et Immagini de sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa*, &c. Firenze, 1620. The representation includes the famous Balsam Garden of Cleopatra, which no longer exists. Bernardino was in Egypt in 1597.

ny other stories of the same nature, the relation of which even old Sandys considered to be "an abuse of time, and a provocation of his reader."* However, by imitating the conduct of the pilgrims, in breaking off and bearing away with us a few scions of this venerable tree, (as Sandys says,† "all to be hackt for the wood thereof, reputed of sovereign vertue,") we were enabled to gratify our botanical friends in England with very rare specimens for their herbaries.‡ The well of *Mataréa* is supposed to be pictured in the famous Mosaic pavement of Præneste,§ where a representation is also preserved of the temple of the Sun, or *Bethshemesh* of sacred scripture,|| with the obelisks as they stood before the vestibule of the building.

We then went to visit the renowned pillar of ON,** or Obelisk of Heliopolis, (the only great work of antiquity now remaining in all the *Land of Goshen*,††) standing on the spot where the Hebrews had their first settlement.‡‡ All the surrounding plain was at this time inundated, so that it seemed as rising from a lake. The water was, however, shallow, and we rode upon our horses towards the obelisk. The ground being rather elevated towards its base, the author was here enabled to gain a precarious footing in the midst of the pool, where he might remain and leisurely delineate the hieroglyphics which are rudely sculptured upon this superb monument. These have been already engraved, both by Norden and by Shaw; but in neither instance with accuracy.§§ From the coarseness of the sculpture, as well as the

* Sandy's Travels, p. 127. *Lond.* 1637 The reader, who is curious to be amused with a complete detail of all the Christian superstitions concerning Cairo and its neighbourhood, may consult Quaresmius, *Elucid. Terr. Sanct.* tom. II. *Antv.* 1639 His account of the Sanctities of Mataréa is given in p. 948 of that volume.

† Ibid.

‡ See Chap. II. p. 21.

§ Shaw's Travels, sect. 7. ch. 2. p. 424. *Lond.* 1757. See also the history of the pavement in Montfaucon's Antiquities, vol. xiv.

|| "He shall break also the images of BETH-SHEMESH (i. e. the house, or city of the Sun) that is in the land of Egypt." Jer. xliii. 13.

** "And Pharaoh called Joseph's name *Zaphnath paaneah*; and he gave him to wife *Asenath*, the daughter of *Poti-pherah*, priest of ON." Gen. xli. 45 The name of this city is rendered *Ἡλιουπόλεις* by the LXXII. as is also the Hebrew word *Bethshemesh*, mentioned in the preceding note.

†† See Shaw's Travels, tom. II. chap. 5.

‡‡ Συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ ζῆν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει. Concessit ei cum liberis suis Heliopolin habitare." *Josephi Antiq. Jud.* lib. ii. cap. 7. tom. I. p. 95. *Amst. &c.* 1726.

§§ The same may be said of the engraving of this obelisk in Kircher's *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, where the *scarabæus pilularius* is introduced, instead of

history of the city to which this obelisk belonged, there is reason to believe it the oldest monument of the kind in Egypt.* Its height is between sixty and seventy feet;† its breadth, at the base, six feet; the whole being one entire mass of reddish granite, the *Granites durus rubescens* of Linnæus. Each of its four sides exhibits the same *characters*, and in the same order. Those which face the south have been the least affected by the decomposition of the substance in which they are hewn; and it is from the southern side that the author's design is taken. He has endeavoured to imitate the rude style of the ancient sculpture, and to present, as nearly as possible, a faithful representation of the original. After the remark made by Strabo, concerning the hieroglyphics of Heliopolis, that they much resembled the works left by the Etrurians, and by the ancient Grecians,‡ a curiosity to see these, in particular, is naturally excited. They are remarkably characterized by the rudeness of their style of sculpture; but in the representations given of them in books of Travels, the simplicity of the original work has been sacrificed, in attempting to express, from more perfect models, the intended delineation of the ancient sculptor. Thus, in the view of this obelisk, published by Shaw, and also by Norden, many of the hieroglyphic figures are fancifully restored, under a notion of improving their appearance; and some are altogether omitted. In the first oval enclosure, from the top of the obelisk, there is a rude figure something like what is vulgarly called a *bird-bolt*, with a circle above it. Shaw believed this to be intended for the *scarabæus pilularius*, which is so frequently seen upon Egyptian monuments: accordingly, he completely restored the figure of the beetle, making it appear as a more perfect

the rude symbol which appears upon the original, and which was probably intended to represent that insect.

* "Antiquissima fuit, ut origo etiam ad fabulas referatur." *Cellar. Geog.* tom. II. pars. 3. p. 42. *Lips.* 1706.

† Shaw makes its height equal only to sixty-four feet; (*Trav.* p. 386. *Lond.* 1757.) although he says "other travellers have described it to be upwards of seventy." Pococke ascertained its height, by the quadrant, and found it to be sixty-seven feet and a half. *Descript. of the East.* vol. I. p. 23. *Lond.* 1743.

‡ Ἀναγλυφαὶ δ' ἔχουσιν οἱ τοῖχοι οὗτοι μεγάλων εἰδώλων, ὁμοίων τοῖς Τυρρηνικοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις σφόδρα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι δημιουργημάτων. "Hi parietes ingentium simulacrorum sculpturas habent, Etruscis et antiquis Græciæ operibus per similitum." *Strabon. Geog.* lib. xvii. p. 1142. *Ed. Oxon.* 1807.

representation of what he had seen elsewhere.* Norden also did the same.† Possibly they were right in their conjectures as to the figure intended by the ancient artist; but one proof of the great antiquity of this monument rests upon the style of the workmanship; and to misrepresent this, in copying the hieroglyphics, by any aim at superior delineation, is as barbarous as to exhibit an ancient inscription in modern characters.‡

The reader's curiosity to become acquainted with the hidden meaning of the symbols upon this obelisk is perhaps quite equal to that of the author; and if all that Kircher has written for its illustration be adequate to this effect, nothing is easier than to transcribe his observations.§ But Isis long ago declared, that no mortal had ever removed her veil;|| and the impenetrable secret seems not likely to be divulged. One solitary fact has been vouchsafed to ages of restless inquiry upon this subject; namely, that the hieroglyphic characters constituted a *written language*,** the signs of an ancient alphabet, expressed according to the most ancient mode of writing, in *capital letters*.†† and it is probable that the more compound forms were a series of *monograms*, like the inscriptions upon the precious stones worn by the High Priest of the Hebrews, which were ordered to be made after the manner of "*the engravings of a signet*,"‡‡ and thus to contain, within a very small compass, "*as stones of memorial*,"§§ even upon "*two onyx-stones, the names of the children of Israel*."||| Strabo's observation upon the Heliopolitan sculp-

* See the plate facing p. 365, in Shaw's Travels. Lond. 1757.

† Norden's Travels, plate facing p. 14. Lond. 1757.

‡ If the reader believe Hasselquist, he was able to distinguish every species of bird upon this pillar, which he calls *the handsomest obelisk in Egypt*. "I could know," says he, "a *strix* (owl) which stood uppermost on the top of the obelisk." See *Trav. to the East*, p. 99. Lond. 1766. All other authors, and among these Kircher, have made the *strix* of Hasselquist a vulture.

§ *Cedipus Egyptiacus*, p. 330. Romæ, 1654.

|| TON EMON ΠΕΙΛΑΟΝ ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΠΩ ΘΝΗΤΟΣ ΑΠΕΚΑΑΤΨΕΝ. *Plutarch. de Iside et Osir. cap. 9.*

** See the words of the Greek inscription upon the Ptolemaic tablet found near Rosetta.

†† The letters of the most ancient written language of Egypt, according to Diodorus, were derived from the Ethiopians; and represented all sorts of beasts, the parts of the human body, and divers instruments. The capital letters of the Armenian alphabet (as published in the grammar printed by the *Propaganda Fidei*) are represented by animals: and it is observed by Pockocke, who mentions this circumstance, (*Description of the East*, vol. I. p. 228. London, 1743.) that "*the names of some ancient letters are the names of beasts*."

‡‡ Exodus xxviii. 11.

§§ Ibid. ver. 12.

||| Ibid. ver. 9.

ture is here of importance: he says, it resembled the workmanship of *Etruscans*; and by the similarity already noticed,* between the letters of the Etruscan alphabet and the characters observed upon *Phœnician signets*, as well as the evident agreement of the signs upon Phœnician coins† with the *Egyptian hieroglyphics*, it may be inferred, that the mode of writing used by the priests of Egypt corresponded with that which Moses caused to be engraven upon the stones for the ephod, and for the breast-plate of judgment, which are expressly and repeatedly described‡ as “the works of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet.”

But with reference to the inscription‡ upon the obelisk at Heliopolis, and to the numerous examples of the same kind which have been noticed among the antiquities of Egypt, although we are unable to explain any thing of their original import, there is one mode of considering them, in which a careful examination of the signs thus represented may be attended with amusement, if not with instruction. This consists, first, in ascertaining what the archetypes were of the several figures used to denote letters: these are sometimes, clearly exhibited, but often confusedly sketched, as if with a view to abbreviation; and, secondly, in using these documents, not only to illustrate the manners of the most ancient nations, but also to prove the existence of many ancient customs from their existing relics. In this point of view, the discoveries made by Denon§ among the hieroglyphics of Upper Egypt are valuable. The light thrown upon the history of architecture, of the arts, and certain even of the sciences, by the pictured representations of things as they existed in the earliest periods, must gratify a laudable curiosity, and may answer the more important purpose of conveying historical information. The hieroglyphics of Heliopolis will perhaps afford less illustration of this nature than any other characters of the same kind; because the style of

* See vol. II. chap. X. of these Travels, p. 227. *N. York ed.*

† Witness the appearance of the *crux ansata* upon a Phœnician medal found in Cyprus.

‡ Exodus, xxviii. 11, 21.

§ See Denon's account of the hieroglyphics in the sepulchres of the ancient kings of Thebes. *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, vol. II. p. 173. London, 1804.—Also of the hieroglyphics of “*Tentyra*,” where he discovered the first models of the style of decoration improperly termed *Arabesque*, such as were executed in painting at the baths of Titus, and copied by Raphael. See vol. I. p. 211.

sculpture is here so rude, that many of the archetypes, whence the types of the inscription were derived, cannot now be ascertained; but, on account of their great antiquity, the few that may be discerned are worth notice. In the very summit of the obelisk, beneath the figure of a vulture, may be observed the *Crux ansata*.* The original of this curious type was the sort of *key* in use among the ancients, which generally appears fastened to a ring. Sometimes it is seen annexed to a rosary of beads, as in the remarkable instance where the same symbol appears upon a Phœnician medal† found at Citium in the Isle of Cyprus. This kind of key is not entirely banished from modern use; and such instruments have been discovered in the ruins of ancient cities. They are often seen in the hands of Egyptian statues. Two were represented, as pendent from hooks, upon a hieroglyphical tablet found near the pyramids by Paul Lucas.‡ The archetype of this symbol may possibly; therefore, have been a *key*. It is not the less likely to answer to

* "Sed non erat ullum templum, in quo non figura *crucis ansata*, ut eam eruditi vocant, sæpius visenda occurreret, hodiequo in ruderibus ac ruinis etiamnum occurat. Ejus hæc est species ☩ - - - Crucem vero istam ansatam, quæ in omnibus Ægyptiorum templis sæpius ficta et picta extabat, quam signa Deorum Ægyptiorum manu tenere solent, quæ partem facit ornatus sacerdotalis, nihil aliud esse quam phallum," &c. (*Vide Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. l. 282.*) Jamblichus thinks the *Crux ansata* was the name of the Divine Being. Sozomen, and other christian writers, (*Vide Sozomen, Eccl. Hist. lib. vii. c. 15.*) conceive the whole figure, or at least the cross, to be expressive of the "*life to come*;" deriving this opinion from the explanation given of it by those of the heathens who understood the hieroglyphics, and were converted to christianity. Sometimes it is represented by a cross fastened to a circle, as above; in other instances, with the letter **T** only, fixed in this manner ☩ to a circle. By the circle, says Kircher, (*Prod. Copt. p. 169.*) is to be understood the creator and preserver of the world; as the wisdom derived from him, which directs and governs it, is signified by the **+**, **T**, the monogram, as he further conjectures, of *Mercury, Thoth, Taaut, or ΦΤ Ptha*. "It is certainly very extraordinary," (says Shaw, who has collected almost every information upon this subject,) "and worthy of our notice, that this *crux ansata* should be so often in their symbolical writings; either alone, or held in the hands, or suspended over the necks, of their deities. Beetles, and such other sacred animals and symbols, as were bored through, and intended for amulets, had this figure frequently impressed upon them." (*See Shaw's Trav. p. 360. Lond. 1657.*) The same author considers it to be the same with the ineffable image of *Eternity*, noticed by Suidas. *Vide Euseb. Prof. Evan. p. 69.*

† It seems to have as much reference to Phœnicia, as to Egypt. Upon a medal of Sidon the cross appears carried by Minerva in a boat.

‡ See the engraving of the second volume of his travels, as published at Amsterdam, in 1744, tom. II. p. 130.

Jablonski's explanation of it on this account.* We have historical information relative to the meaning of the *Crux ansata*. Indeed, it may be considered as the only hieroglyphical type concerning whose import we have any certain intelligence.

The singular appearance of a *Cross* so frequently recurring among the hieroglyphics of Egypt, had excited the curiosity of the Christians in a very early period of ecclesiastical history;† and some of the priests,‡ who were acquainted with the meaning of the hieroglyphics, became converted to Christianity, the secret transpired. "The converted heathens," says Socrates Scholasticus,§ "explained the symbol; and declared that it signified 'LIFE TO COME.'" Ruffinus mentions the same fact.|| Kircher's ingenuity had guided him to an explanation of the *Crux ansata*, as a *monogram*, which does not militate against the signification thus obtained. He says, it consisted of the letters ΦΤ, denoting *Ptha*, a name of *Mercury*,** and the name of this deity, as a *conductor of the souls of the dead*, might well be used with reference to a state of *existence after death*. But as every Egyptian *monogram* had its archetype in some animal, or instrument of common use, and the original of the *Crux ansata* seems to have been a *key*, we may, perhaps, by attending to this curious circumstance, arrive at the origin of those allegorical allusions to a *key*, which, with reference to a *future state of existence*, are introduced into the Holy

* See note (*) p. 72, containing an extract from Jablonski, upon the meaning of the *Crux ansata*. The women of Naples wear it as a pendant for the ear; annexing to this ornament the signification which Jablonski has given of the *Crux ansata*; but the use of the metaphorical verb *Chiavare*, in their language, proves that the same interpretation is applicable to a *key*. An observation occurs in Athenæus where the letter T is deemed *obscene*.

† The *Serapæum* at Alexandria was destroyed about the year 390. It was at the destruction of this building that the Christians first became acquainted with the meaning of the *Cross* among the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

‡ No liberty is here taken, either with the text of *Ruffinus* or of *Socrates*, in saying the *priests*; because no others possessed a knowledge of the sacred writing.

§ Τούτων δι' ἀμφισβητούμενων, τινὲς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῷ Χριστιανισμῷ προσελθόντες, τὰ ἱερογλυφικά τι γράμματα ἱσιτάμενοι, διαρρηνύοντες τὸν σταυροειδῆ χαρακτῆρα, ἱλαρὸν σημαίνειν ΖΩΗΝ ἘΠΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΗΝ. "Dum hæc inter illos agitur controversia, quidam ex Gentilium errore ad Christi fidem conversi, qui hujusmodi literarum notitiam habebant, notam hanc crucis forma depictam interpretantes, venturam vitam significare docuerunt." *Socrat. Scholast. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. v. c. 17. p. 276. Paris, 1668.*—The reader will do well to consult the whole chapter, which contains very curious information.

|| Ruffin. *Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 29.* See also *Heliod. Æthiop. lib. iii. p. 148.*

** Kircher. *Prod. Copt. p. 169.* See also a former note upon the *Crux ansata*.

Scriptures. Such an allusion is made in the prophecies of Isaiah, concerning the kingdom of Christ.* Our Saviour says unto Peter,† “I WILL GIVE UNTO THEE THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN;” and the author of the book of Revelations, as if the sacred symbols of ancient Egypt had suggested the image to his mind, describes the Angel of *the Resurrection*‡ as having in his hand a *key*. Also, in the sublime prophecy concerning the second advent of the Messiah, a similar allusion may be noticed,§ “I AM HE THAT LIVETH AND WAS DEAD; AND, BEHOLD, I AM ALIVE FOR EVERMORE, AMEN, AND HAVE THE KEYS OF HELL AND OF DEATH.”

Among the other signs used to express words upon this monument, there is one, respecting which our information is not attended with the same certainty as in the preceding instance, although its meaning be not entirely unknown. This is the curious *monogram*, called *Hieralpha* by Kircher,|| composed of the Greek letters Α and Δ, which he explains, from Plutarch, to signify *Agatho Dæmon*, and to have had for its archetype an Ibis, in a particular attitude.** It may be observed near the centre of the obelisk, immediately above another figure of the *Crux ansata*, similar to that which has been already described. Pauw ridicules Kircher's notion;

* “The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder.” *Isaiah* xxii. 22.

† Matthew xvi. 19.


‡ “And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the *key* of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand.” *Revel.* xx. 1.

§ *Revel.* i. 18.

|| “Hic character idem significat, quod Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, id est, *Bonus Genius*; et componitur ex initialibus literis Α et Δ. Si enim producitur Δ litera, fiat Α, quod in se monogrammaticè continet Δ et Α; invenitur autem hæc litera hieroglyphica in omnibus ferè *Ægyptiacis* inscriptionibus, &c. quam et *Hieralpham* imposterum vocabimus.” (*Kircher Œdip. Ægypt. Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, tom. III. p. 50. *Rom.* 1654.) Also (in *Prod. Copt.* p. 231) the same author says, “Hoc μονόγραμμα Α, ex Δ et Α compositum, in nullo non obelisco

frequentissimum, *Ægyptiarum* vocum **ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΔΕΜΟΝ**, quibus bonum genium *Delta* Nili seu *Ægypti* signat, index; cum præter dictarum vocum capitales literas, ejus quoque *Ægypti* portionis figuram quam Δ passim vocant, clare dictum μονόγραμμα exprimat.”

** “Ἰβίς τι ποιεῖ τῇ τῶν ποδῶν ἀποστάσει πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥίγνος ἰσόπλευρον τρίγωνον “*Ibis* pedum divaricatione eorum inter se, et cum rostro comparatione, triangulum refert aequilaterum.” *Plutarch, Sympos.* 5. Also Ἐρμῆς λέγεται Θεὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γράμματα πρῶτος εἶρειν, διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν γραμμάτων Αἰγύπτιοι πρῶτον Ἰβιν γράφουσι, ὡς Ἐρμῆ (Ἀγαθοδαίμονι) προσήκουσαν. “*Mercurius* primus *Deorum* in *Ægypto* traditor invenisse literas, atque adeo Ibin *Ægyptii* primam literam faciunt *Mercurio*, videlicet *Agathodæmoni*, convenientem.” *Id.* in lib. ix. *Sympos.* 2, 3. See also *Kircher Œdip. Ægypt. Theat. Hieroglyph.* p. 43. *Rom.* 1654.

admitting, at the same time, a resemblance between the first letter of the Greek alphabet and the *Theban plough*.* Now the *plough* was, in fact, an archetype of the symbol which Kircher calls *Hieralpha*: and although Pauw has proved this point, perhaps beyond dispute, yet something may still be added in its confirmation. The sort of *hand-plough*, represented as a sceptre in the hands of the priests and kings of Egypt,† is still used by many of the Celtic tribes. The author has also seen it in Lapland. It has this form,  which precisely corresponds (although in an inverted position) with the sort of sceptre mentioned by Diodorus, and denominated *Hieralpha* by Kircher. There are also a few symbols rendered interesting in the representations they offer of instruments still used by modern nations, without any deviation from their most ancient form: such, for example, as the *Testudo*, or *Cithara*, of the ancients, a two-stringed lyre, constructed of the shell of a land-tortoise, common to all the shores of the Mediterranean. It corresponds with the *Balalaika* of the Russians, and is in use among the Calmucks.‡ This instrument is believed to be the $\Phi\omicron\rho\mu\iota\gamma\gamma\iota$ of Homer.§ It may be observed about half way up the face of the obelisk, upon the left hand, placed by the side of an axe or hatchet. The sort of staff, capped with the representation of an animal's head, which is seen in the hands of Egyptian deities among their hieroglyphic figures, and frequently delineated upon Greek vases, as a badge of distinction worn by Grecian hierarchs, is yet in use among the patriarchs and bishops of the Greek church; and this may be observed in two instances upon the Helio-politan pillar. For the rest, the reader, if he have patience for the inquiry, may be referred to Kircher;|| who has written a particular dissertation upon this obelisk,

* Philosoph. Diss. &c. vol. II. p. 121. *Lon.* 1795.

† Philosoph. Dic. &c. *ibid.* Vid. *Diod. Sic. lib. iv. Tibullus. lib. i.*

“Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris,
Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum.”

‡ See vol. I. of these Travels, Chap. XII. p. 160. *N. York Edit.*

§ The author is indebted for this observation to a letter received from R. P. Knight, Esq. soon after the publication of the First Part of these Travels. Alluding to the account given in p. 160, (*N. York Edition*), of a two-stringed lyre represented in the Calmuck paintings, Mr. Knight said that he considered this instrument to be the same which Homer mentions, under the name of $\Phi\omicron\rho\mu\iota\gamma\gamma\iota$:

Τοῦτον δ' ἐν μέσσοισι πᾶσις $\Phi\omicron\rho\mu\iota\gamma\gamma\iota$ λεγέει

ἡμεῶν κινάριον.

Iliad. Σ. 569.

|| Vid. *Synlogma* VIII. *Theat. Hieroglyph.* *Œtupi Ægyptiaci, tom.* III. p. 330. *Rom.* 1654. Kircher's account of this obelisk is divided into four dis-

and, in his endeavour to explain its symbols in detail, has brought together all that his vast erudition enabled him to communicate; although it must be evident, since the discovery of a Greek translation of hieroglyphics upon the *Rosetta Stone*, that the interpretation proposed by him, of these characters, cannot accord with their real signification.

With the description of this obelisk the author is compelled to terminate his very limited observations concerning Heliopolis; for such is the solitary remnant of a city and university where Herodotus was instructed in the wisdom of the Egyptians; and where, eighteen hundred years ago, the *schools** of Plato, and of Eudoxus, were shown to Roman travellers, as, in some future age, the places where a Locke and a Newton held their disputations may be pointed out among the mouldering edifices of Oxford and of Cambridge. That other monuments, equally entitled to consideration, may possibly exist around this pillar, concealed only by a thin covering of soil, can hardly be doubted; and these, succeeding travellers may bring to light. The antiquities observed by Pococke are probably among the number. Yet, if this alone continue to mark the situation of Heliopolis, the evidence it affords, when added to other proofs, will be sufficient to indentify the locality of the city. Indeed, when it is considered that Heliopolis was altogether a deserted city so long ago as the time of Strabo,† and that the Romans carried from Egypt so many of its ancient monuments, it is surprising that this obelisk, stupendous as it is, remains in its original position. Among several trophies of

tinct chapters. "1. *De origine Obelisci Heliopolitani.*" 2. "*De erectione et mensurâ Obelisci.*" 3. "*Argumentum hujus Obelisci.*" 4. "*Interpretatio Obelisci.*" Of these, the reader will, in all probability, rest satisfied with the two first: these, being historical, are valuable. An examination of Kircher's work will offer a striking example of the patient research and amazing erudition which characterized the learned labours of the Jesuits; but when he proceeds to the interpretation of the hieroglyphics in detail, his reveries may be compared to the feverish dreams of a scholar, who, from intense application to his studies, is visited, as by the night-mare, with a continual recurrence of *postulates* unattended by a single conclusion.

* ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΑΙ dicuntur *Philosophorum congressus ac disputationes*, quæ Plut. διατριβαὶ περὶ λόγους. Item locus, in quo διατρίβουσι περὶ τι, ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ dicitur. Sic leg. Strab. Ἐκεῖ οὖν ἰδεῖν οὐκ οἶμαι τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν οἶκον, καὶ Πλάτωνος ἔ Εὐδόξου διατριβὰς. "Ostendebantur ergo ibi sacerdotum ædes, ac domicilia in quibus Eudoxus et Plato egerant." *Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. tom. II. p. 1143. Ed. Oxon.*

† Πανένημος ἡ πόλις—"Omnino urbs deserta est." *Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. tom. II. p. 1142. Ed. Oxon. 1807.*

this description, which were removed to Italy, Strabo mentions two obelisks that were carried to Rome from the ruins of Heliopolis.* According to Pliny, the first monuments of this kind that were raised in Egypt were placed within this city;† and the elevation assigned by him to each of the four obelisks erected here by Sothis, so nearly corresponds with the measure of the one which now remains, that, making allowance for its pedestal, its height would be the same.‡ On this account, Pococke,§ and Shaw,|| consider it to be one of the four thus mentioned by Pliny. Diodorous relates,** that two other obelisks were erected at Heliopolis by Sesostris; but each of these was one hundred and twenty cubits in height, and eight in breadth; an elevation, therefore, much too considerable to correspond with the present appearance of this pillar.

After leaving this place, the author was so much exhausted by fatigue, that he returned to Caïro, across the sandy plain of the desert which lies east of the city, and extends all the way from the Nile to the Red Sea. Mr. Cripps accompanied by Mr. Hammer and by Mr. Hamilton, then secretary of our ambassador at Constantinople, continued their journey as far as the *Pilgrim's Lake*, whence the canal is supposed to have extended to the Red Sea; and returned afterwards by the route which the author had taken. They found, at the lake, the remains of a very large caravanserai, and discerned the traces of a canal, bearing thence towards the south-east, in the direction of Suez. But the most curious objects noticed in this part of the day's journey were presented to our whole party where we least expected to find any thing remarkable; namely, in the mineral productions of the desert itself. A beautiful and well-known variety of jasper, commonly

* "Ὅν δύο καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκομισθησαν, οἱ μὴ πεκαλωμένοι τέλειως. " Quorum duo Romam delati sunt, non omnino corrupti " Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. tom. II. p. 1142. ed. Oxon. 1807.

† "Primus omnium id instituit Mithres, qui in Solis urbe regnabat, somnio jussus: et hoc ipsum inscriptum est in eo: etenim sculpturæ illæ effigiesque, quas videmus, EGYPTIÆ SUNT LITERÆ. Postea et alii regum in supra dicta urbe." Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 8. tom. III. p. 481. L. Bat. 1635.

‡ That is to say, 48 cubits; and admitting the Roman cubit to equal 18 inches, the whole height of the obelisk would be 72 feet. Pococke found the height of that part of the obelisk which is above the surface of the soil to equal 87 feet, measuring it by a quadrant. Shaw took its elevation 'by the proportion of shadows,' and made it only sixty-four feet; thereby allowing eight feet for the pedestal. Pococke's mensuration allows only five.

§ Descript. of the East, vol. I. p. 23. Lond. 1743.

|| Travels, p. 366. Lond. 1757.

** Diod. Sic. Biblioth. lib. i. p. 38. Hanov. 1604.

called *Egyptian Pebble*, is found in such abundance, among masses of the most curious mineralized wood, upon the surface of the sands, over all, the district eastward of Grand Cairo, even to the borders of the Red Sea, that specimens might be obtained in sufficient abundance to serve as ballast for a vessel bound from Suez to England. The author had collected almost enough to load a camel before he arrived at the walls of the city; but when the rest of the party returned, they brought with them a more considerable burden. Among these were large blocks of petrified palm-tree, of which Mr. Cripps had collected a very great variety. They found these masses lying in detached fragments among the loose sand, wholly disengaged from any other *stratum*, and scattered over the surface of the desert. In the same manner, but more frequently, appeared the large pebbles of Egyptian jasper, being almost always of a flattened ovate shape. This mineral is too well known to require a more particular description; but who can explain its origin? The received opinion, and that which daily experience confirms, respecting siliceous concretions in general, is this, that they have been deposited, after a stalactical process, in the fissures and cavities left by air in substances of anterior formation. Admitting, therefore, that every one of these Egyptian pebbles once occupied such cavities, in strata now reduced to a pulverized state, and become the sand of the desert, what idea can be formed of the antiquity of this kind of jasper? Unlike other flinty substances, it seems almost incapable of decomposition by exposure to the atmosphere; having, as an exterior crust, a thin investiture of a reddish colour; which differs in appearance only from the nature of the stone itself; the chemical analysis being precisely the same. Masses of pure silix, and some chalcedonies containing almost as much alumine as the Egyptian jasper, when thus exposed to the continued action of air and moisture, gradually decompose, and assume the white colour common to the matter of silix when in a state of extreme division. But these pebbles, although constantly exposed to the nightly dews of a country where water falls during the night as abundantly as heavy rain, and to the powerful rays of a burning sun during the day, have sustained little or no alteration. They have also another very remarkable character. Although they be destitute of that whitish surface which is common to every siliceous body long acted upon by the atmosphere, they are always

characterized by a lighter colour towards the centre of each pebble; and this is sometimes white. They vary in their size, from that of a hen's egg to the egg of an ostrich; but are rarely larger, and always appear more or less flattened, so as to exhibit a superior and an inferior elliptical surface upon each specimen. The masses of mineralized or petrified wood had no regularity of shape, except that parisitical form which the mineral, thus modified, had derived from the vegetable whose fibres it had penetrated when in a fluid state. It is evident, therefore, that these pebbles do not owe their spheroidal shape to the effect of any previous attrition in water; because the masses of mineralized wood, possessing a degree of hardness inferior to the jasper, and being associated with it, would also have undergone a similar change. Pococke, and, more recently, that intelligent traveller Browne, noticed these appearances in the deserts; the first on the Arabian, and the last on the Libyan side of the Nile.* Pococke seems to have observed the examples he alludes to, upon the same spot where we found them, or very near to it, for they occurred in the first part of his journey from Grand Cairo to Suez.† Shaw mentions, also, his having observed instances of the same kind, on the isthmus between Cairo and Suez; and the fabulous accounts of the famous *Ras Sem*, or petrified village in the Cyrenaïca, are supposed by him to have derived their origin from similar phenomena.‡ Shaw notices a method by which the petrified palm-tree may be distinguished from any other mineralized wood. He says,§ the fibres, as in the living plant, “do not run straight and parallel, as in other trees; but are, for the most part, oblique, or diverging from one another, in an angle of about ten degrees.”

In the gardens and cultivated grounds near the Nile, the inhabitants were now beginning (August 22) to collect their dates; but the corn was still out in some places. The mercury in the thermometer, at noon this day, when observed in the desert east of Heliopolis, did not stand higher than 87° of

* Travels in Africa, from the year 1792 to 1798, by W. G. Browne.

† “I observed in the road many stones that looked like petrified wood . . . I saw one piece that seemed to have been a large body of a tree.” *Descript. of the East*, vol. I. p. 131. Lond. 1743.

‡ See Shaw's account of the *petrified village*, or city, at *Ras Sem*, in the province of *Dasha*, in the kingdom of TRIPOLI. *Travels*, p. 155. Lond. 1757.

§ Ibid. p. 161.

Fahrenheit. The heat in England has been sometimes almost equal to this in the month of September.

The facility with which the Arabs run up and down the date-trees, at first sight surprises a stranger; but when the attempt is made, nothing can be easier. A series of cavities in the bark of those trees, as if purposely excavated to admit the hands and feet, render the ascent, and descent, as practicable as upon the steps of a ladder. We frequently climbed to the top of the tallest palm-trees by means of this natural staircase.

In the evening after our arrival, some of our party went to see an exhibition of the *Almehs*, or *Dancing* women, at the house of a lady of some distinction, and where it was believed this curious remnant of ancient Egyptian ceremonies might be unattended with those violations of decorum by which they are generally characterized. This, however, was not the case. The dance was, as usual, destitute of grace, activity, or decency. It consists wholly of gestures, calculated to express, in the most gross and revolting manner, the intercourse of the sexes. In any part of Europe, even if it were tolerated, it would be thought a degrading and wretched performance; yet the ladies of Caïro, accustomed to the introduction of these women upon festival days, regard the exercise of the *Almehs* with amusement, and even with applause. If we may judge from the representations upon Grecian vases, the female bacchanals of ancient Greece exhibited in their dances a much more animated and more graceful appearance: yet the manner of dancing practised by the *Almehs*, however offensive in the eyes of civilized nations, is the most ancient. Hence the observation of Cicero,* "NEMO SALTAT SOBRIUS, NISI FORTE INSANIT:" and if the history of this exercise be traced to its origin, it will be found to have nearly the same character all over the world. In the anger of Moses at the dancing of the Israelites;† in the reproach cast upon David, by Michal the daughter of Saul, for his conduct when dancing before the ark;‡ in the gratification afforded to Herod by the dance of Salome;§ we may perceive what were the characteristics of primeval dances: and if curiosity should lead any one to inquire what sort of

* Orat. pro Murænâ.

† Exod. xxxii. 19.

‡ 2 Samuel vi. 20.

§ Matth. xiv. Mark. vi. Joseph. Antq. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 2.

dancing is found among modern nations, where the exercise has not been refined by civilization, his attention may be directed to the *Tarantello* of Italy, the *Fandango* of Spain, the *Barina* of Russia, the *Calenda* of Africa, and the *Timorodee* of Otaheite. Egypt, where no lapse of time seems to have effected change, where the constancy of natural phenomena appears to have been always accompanied with the same uniformity of manners and customs, Egypt preserves its pristine attachment to a licentious dance; and exhibits that dance as it was beheld, above three thousand years ago, in the annual procession to Bubastus, when the female votaries of Diana distinguished themselves in the cities through which they passed by indecency and dancing.* Considered, therefore, with reference to the moral character and habits of the people, as well as to their ancient history, this practice of the *Almehs* may be entitled to some notice. Indeed, the part they sustain in the scale of society in Egypt is so considerable, and the partiality shown to them so inveterate,† that it is impossible to give a faithful account of the country without some allusion to these women. They wear upon their fingers little bells, like small cymbals, which they use as the Italians and Spaniards do their *castagnettes*. They have also tambours of different kinds. The form of one of these seems to have been derived from that of the common pumpkin, which is frequent among the vegetables of Egypt; for, although the tambour is made of wood, it has exactly the appearance of half a large pumpkin, scooped, with a skin bound over it. The Arabs use hollow pumpkins, when dried, as bottles to contain water: these becoming

* Herodot. Euterpe, c. 60.

† "Il n'est point de fête sans elles; point de festin dont elles ne fassent l'ornement. . . . Les ALME sont appellées dans tous les HAREM . . . Les ALME assistent aux cérémonies de mariage, et marchent devant la mariée en jouant des instrumens. Elles figurent aussi dans les enterremens, et accompagnent le convoi en chantant des airs funèbres. Elles poussent des gémissemens," &c. Savary, *Lett. sur l'Égypte*, tom. I. pp. 150. 152. 154. Paris, 1785. Strangers who reside for some time in Cairo, however disgusted by the exhibition of the *Almehs* at first, gradually adopt the taste of the native inhabitants. Of this we find an instance in Niebuhr's travels "However much disposed to receive entertainment, they did not please us at first; their vocal and instrumental music we thought horrible; and their persons appeared disgustingly ugly, with their yellow hands, spotted faces, absurd ornaments, and hair larded with stinking pomatum. But by degrees we learned to endure them, and, for want of better, began to fancy some of them pretty, to imagine their voices agreeable, their movements graceful, though indecent, and their music not absolutely intolerable." *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. p. 140. *Edinb.* 1792.

hard, are very durable, and may have preceded the use of a hollow hemisphere of wood, in the manufacture of a tambour. The dances of the Almehs are accompanied by vocal as well as by instrumental music; if that may be termed vocal, which consists of a continual recurrence of the same shrill sounds, caused by triking the tongue against the roof of the mouth, without the utterance of any distinct words. Yet this singular mode of expressing joy is all that constitutes the *Alleluia* of the ancients. When lord Hutchinson first entered Caïro, after the capture of the city, he was met by a number of women who greeted him with *Alleluias*: they accompanied him through the streets, clapping their hands, and making this extraordinary noise, in a loud and shrill tone. It seems to be a constant repetition of the same syllable, *al*; uttered in this manner, *Alalalalalalalal*, with the utmost rapidity, and without interruption or pause of any kind. The person who is able to continue this kind of scream for the longest time, without drawing breadth, is supposed to be the best performer. The same sort of singing is practised by the *Almehs* at funerals with this difference; the *Alleluia*, or cry of joy, consists in a repetition of the syllable *al*; and that which is used to denote grief, is formed by a similar repetition of the syllable *ul*, or *el*, constituting the long protracted *elelelelelu*, or *ululation*.* The tone of voice continues the same through both of these; the *Alleluia*, and the *Ululation*: but there seemed to be this distinction in the manner of delivering the sounds; that in the former, it was a tremulous note ascending; in the latter, the same note descending in continual cadences. However, it is exceedingly difficult, as perhaps the reader has already perceived, to convey, or to obtain, ideas of musical sounds by means of a mere verbal description.

Upon the twenty-third of August we set out for the pyramids, the inundation enabling us to approach within less than a mile of the larger pyramid, in our djerm. Messrs. Hammer and Hamilton accompanied us. We arrived at Djiza by day-break, and called upon some English officers who wished to join our party upon this occasion. From Djiza, our approach to the pyramids was through a swampy coun-

* In the *Prometheus Vinctus* of Æschylus, Io utters this cry of lamentation, Ἑλελελελεῦ, which the scholiast denominates Φρήνωδες ἐπιφθέγμα. See Pausanias's *Æschylus*, tom. I. p. 88, 877. *Hag. Com.* 1748. Stanley, Blomfield, &c.

try, by means of a narrow canal, which, however, was deep enough: and we arrived without any obstacle, at nine o'clock, at the bottom of a sandy slope, leading up to the principal pyramid. Some Bedouin Arabs, who had assembled to receive us upon our landing, were much amused by the eagerness excited in our whole party, to prove who should first set his foot upon the summit of this artificial mountain. As we drew near its base, the effect of its prodigious magnitude, and the amazement caused in viewing the enormous masses used in its construction, affected every one of us; but it was an impression of awe and fear, rather than of pleasure. In the observations of travellers who had recently preceded us, we had heard the pyramids described as huge objects which gave no satisfaction to the spectator, on account of their barbarous shape, and formal appearance; yet to us it appeared hardly possible, that persons susceptible of any feeling of sublimity could behold them unmoved. With what amazement did we survey the vast surface that was presented to us, when we arrived at this stupendous monument, which seemed to reach the clouds! Here and there appeared some Arab guides upon the immense masses above us, like so many pigmies, waiting to show the way up to the summit. Now and then we thought we heard voices, and listened; but it was the wind, in powerful gusts, sweeping the immense ranges of stone. Already some of our party had begun the ascent, and were pausing at the tremendous depth which they saw below. One of our military companions, after having surmounted the most difficult part of the undertaking, became giddy in consequence of looking down from the elevation he had attained; and being compelled to abandon the project, he hired an Arab to assist him in effecting his descent. The rest of us, more accustomed to the business of climbing heights, with many a halt for respiration, and many an exclamation of wonder, pursued our way toward the summit. The mode of ascent has been frequently described; and yet, from the questions which are often proposed to travellers, it does not appear to be generally understood. The reader may imagine himself to be upon a staircase, every step of which, to a man of middle stature, is nearly breast high;* and the breadth of each step is

* The stones, wherewith the pyramids are built, are from five to thirty feet long, (*Herodotus makes none of these stones less than thirty feet;*) and from three to four feet high." *Shaw's Travels*, p. 367. *London*. 1757.

equal to its height: consequently, the footing is secure; and although a retrospect, in going up, be sometimes fearful to persons unaccustomed to look down from any considerable elevation, yet there is little danger of falling. In some places, indeed, where the stones are decayed, caution may be required; and an Arab guide is always necessary, to avoid a total interruption; but, upon the whole, the means of ascent are such that almost every one may accomplish it.* Our progress was impeded by other causes. We carried with us a few instruments; such as, our boat-compass, a thermometer, a telescope, &c.; these could not be trusted in the hands of the Arabs, and they were liable to be broken every instant. At length we reached the topmost tier, to the great delight and satisfaction of all the party. Here we found a platform, thirty-two feet square; consisting of nine large stones, each of which might weigh about a ton; although they be much inferior in size to some of the stones used in the construction of this pyramid. Travellers of all ages, and of various nations, have here inscribed their names. Some are written in Greek; many in French; a few in Arabic; one or two in English; and others in Latin. We were as desirous as our predecessors† to leave a memorial of our arrival; it seemed to be a tribute of thankfulness, due for the success of our undertaking; and presently every

* Upon this account, when we reached the top of the pyramid, we sent an Arab with a short note to the officer who had abandoned the undertaking; urging him to renew the attempt. After some time, the messenger returned, but without our companion. The author, hearing this, went down to him, and found him in the entrance to the pyramid, sitting with some Arabs in the shade afforded by the large projecting masses of stone; and, having with some difficulty prevailed upon him to renew the attempt, succeeded in conducting him to the top. He expressed himself unwilling to return without having gratified his curiosity by a view from the summit; but confessed that the effect produced upon his mind, by the stupendous sight around him, was rather painful than pleasing, and had rendered him wholly unfit for the exertion it required. It is to this circumstance that allusion was before made (*See chap. II. p. 30*;) and it confirms the truth of Mr. Burke's observations, upon the impressions to which men are liable, who, without the smallest personal danger, are exposed to the contemplation of objects exceedingly vast in their dimensions. Mr. Burke describes the impression produced by the sublime as bordering upon a sensation of pain; illustrating this by reference to a person standing in perfect security beneath a precipice, and looking up towards its summit. (*See Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime, &c. by Edmund Burke. Sect. 27. part. 3. p. 237, &c. Lond. 1782.*)

† "Après que nous eûmes gravé nos noms sur le sommet de la pyramide, nous descendîmes," &c. *Savary's Lett. sur l'Egypte*, tom. I. p. 188. *Par. 1785.*

one of our party was seen busied in adding the inscription of his name.*

Upon this area, which looks like a point when seen from **Cairo**, or from the Nile, it is extraordinary that none of those numerous hermits fixed their abode, who retired to the tops of columns, and to almost inaccessible solitudes upon the pinnacles of the highest rocks. It offers a much more convenient and secure retreat than was selected by an ascetic who pitched his residence upon the architrave of a temple in the vicinity of Athens. The heat, according to Fahrenheit's thermometer, at the time of our coming, did not exceed 84° ; and the same temperature continued during the time we remained, a strong wind blowing from the north west. The view from this eminence amply fulfilled our expectations; nor do the accounts which have been given of it, as it appears at this season of the year, exaggerate the novelty and grandeur of the sight. All the region towards **Cairo** and the Delta resembled a sea, covered with innumerable islands. Forests of palm-trees were seen standing in the water; the inundation spreading over the land where they stood, so as to give them an appearance of growing in the flood. To the north, as far as the eye could reach, nothing could be discerned, but a watery surface thus diversified by plantations and by villages. To the south we saw the pyramids of **Saccára**; and, upon the east of these, smaller monuments of the same kind, nearer to the Nile. An appearance of ruins might indeed be traced the whole way from the pyramids of **Djiza** to those of **Saccára**; as if they had been once connected, so as to constitute one vast cemetery. Beyond the pyramids of **Saccára** we could perceive the distant mountains of the **SAID**; and upon an eminence near the **Libyan** side of the Nile appeared a monastery of considerable size. Toward the west and south-west, the eye ranged over the great **Libyan** desert, extending to the utmost verge of the horizon, without a single object to interrupt the dreary horror of the landscape, except dark floating spots, caused by the shadows of passing clouds upon the sand.

Upon the south-east side is the gigantic statue of the **Sphinx**, the most colossal piece of sculpture which remains

* In order to prove how commodious a station this place affords, it may be mentioned that the author was enabled to write upon the spot a letter to a friend in England.

of all the works executed by the ancients. The French have uncovered all the pedestal of this statue, and all the cumbent or leonine parts of the figure; these were before entirely concealed by sand. Instead, however, of answering the expectations raised concerning the work upon which it was supposed to rest, the pedestal proves to be a wretched substructure of brick-work, and small pieces of stone, put together like the most insignificant piece of modern masonry, and wholly out of character, both with respect to the prodigious labour bestowed upon the statue itself, and the gigantic appearance of the surrounding objects. Beyond the Sphinx, we distinctly discerned, amidst the sandy waste, the remains and vestiges of a magnificent building; perhaps the SERAPEUM. A sort of chequered work appeared in the middle of many of the stones belonging to this ruined edifice. It is unnoticed by every author who has written upon the pyramids. Indeed, the observation of *Geoffry*, as given in a *Rapport* made to the institute of Egypt, during the residence of the French at Caïro,* is very just; that all preceding travellers have attended only to the principal objects in their visits of the pyramids. They have disregarded a number of other remains, less entire, and more diminutive, but calculated to throw considerable light upon the history of those antiquities which here occupy such a surprising extent. Strabo, whose observations were certainly made upon the spot, as will hereafter be proved, has given, in his account of Memphis, a description of the situation of the SERAPEUM, pointedly applicable to this position of it: indeed, it seems almost identified by his remark. He says it stood in a place so sandy, that hills of sand were heaped there by the winds; and mentions the remains of *Sphinxes*, as marking the place where it stood.† A writer of somewhat later date, the author of the *Sibylline Verses*, which are believed to be a composition of the second century, may rather allude to the *Serapæum* at Memphis,

* "Rapport à l'Institut sur les recherches à faire dans l'emplacement de l'ancienne Memphis, et dans toute l'étendue des ses sépultures." *Voy. Courier de l'Égypte*, No. 104. p. 3. *Au Kaire, de l'Imprimerie Nationale*.

† "Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Σεράπειον ἐν ἀμμώδεϊ τότῃ σφόδρα, ὥστ' ὑπ' ἀνέμων θύνας ἀμμῶν σωρίσθαι, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ σφίγγες κ. τ. λ." "Est etiam Serapium, in loco valde arenoso, adeo ut arenæ colles a ventis exaggerentur: ibi vidimus Sphingea," &c. *Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1148. Ed. Oxon.*

than to the temple at Alexandria, by the situation he assigns to Serapis.*

Immediately beneath our view, upon the eastern and western side, we saw so many tombs, that we were unable to count them; some being half buried in the sand, others rising considerably above it. All these are of an oblong form, with sides sloping, like the roofs of European houses. A plan of their situation and appearance is given in Pococke's travels.† The second pyramid, standing to the south-west, has the remains of a covering near its vertex, as of a plating of stone which had once invested all its four sides. Some persons, deceived by the external hue of this covering, have believed it to be of marble; but its white appearance is owing to a partial decomposition, affecting the surface only. Not a single fragment of marble‡ can be found anywhere near this pyramid. It is surrounded by a paved court, having walls on the outside, and places as for doors, or portals, in the walls; also an advanced work, or portico. A third pyramid, of much smaller dimensions than the second, appears beyond the Sphinx, to the south-west; and there are three others, one of which is nearly buried in sand, between the large pyramid and this statue, to the south-east.§

Having thus surveyed the principal objects, as they appeared from the summit of the greater pyramid, we proceeded to the examination of the substances which compose its exterior surface.

The stones of the platform upon the top, as well as most of the others used in constructing the decreasing ranges from the base upwards, are of soft limestone; a little harder, and more compact, than what some of our English masons vulgarly call *clunch*; whereof King's College Chapel,

* Καὶ οὐ Σιῶναι, λίθοις ἐκκείμενε. "Tuque Serapi sedens in saxis." *Sibyllina Oracula*, lib. v. *ad fin.*

† Description of the East, vol. I. plate xvi. p. 41. *Lond.* 1743.

‡ Marble was not used for buildings in very ancient times. "It does not appear," says Shaw, that marble was used by the Grecian artists, either in sculpture or building, before the 15th Olympiad, B. C. 720. Dædalus's statues of Hercules and Venus were of wood; of which, or of rough stone, were likewise their idols and temples, till that time. The ancient temple of Delphi was built about the 65th Olympiad, B. C. 520. or 513 years after the temple of Solomon. See Shaw's *Trav.* p. 368. note 5. *Lond.* 1757.

§ In mentioning these particulars, the author may possibly repeat what other travellers have said before, without being conscious of so doing: indeed, it is hardly possible to avoid repetition, upon a subject which has been discussed by thousands, although the utmost vigilance be used.

at Cambridge, and great part of Ely Cathedral, is built. It is of a grayish white colour; and has this remarkable property, that when broken by a smart blow with a hammer, it exhales the fetid odour common to the dark limestone of the Dead Sea, and of many other places; owing to the disengagement of a gaseous sulphureted hydrogen. This character is very uncommon in white limestone, although it may be frequently observed in the darker varieties. It is now very generally admitted, that the stones, of which the pyramids consist, are of the same nature as the calcarious rock whereon they stand, and that this was cut away in order to form them: Herodotus says they were brought from the Arabian side of the Nile.* Another more compact variety of limestone is found in detached masses at the base of these structures, exactly as it is described by Strabo; seeming to consist entirely of mineralized *exuviae*, derived from some animal now unknown. We did not observe this variety among the constituents of the pyramids themselves, but in loose fragments upon the sand.† The forms of the petrification are lenticular. We noticed an extraneous fossil of the same nature in the Crimea, which has also been described by Pallas.‡ Strabo's description of this substance corresponds, in so striking a manner, with its present appearance, that his account of it may be noticed as affording internal evidence of his visit to the spot. "Among the wonders," says he, § "which we saw at the pyramids, there is one which ought on no account to pass without notice. There are heaps of stones, lying among the ruins before the pyramids, in which are found little petrifications, in form and size exactly resembling the natural appearance of lentils. The tradition is, that these lentils are the petrified remains of the food given to the workmen." Notwithstanding the throng of travellers, particularly of late years, who have resorted to the pyramids, almost all of whom have borne away some memo-

* Enterpe, c. 8.

† The author has since been informed that it has been observed among the stones of which the principal pyramid is built.

‡ It has received the appellation of *Lapis Nummularius*, from the resemblance of these lenticular forms to small coins. See the first part of these Travels, chap. XX. p. 336. *N. York edition*.

§ "Εν δὲ τι τῶν ὀραθίντων ὑψ' ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς Πυραμίσιν παραδόξων οὐκ ἄξιον παρα-
 ληπτέον. Ἐκ γὰρ τῆς λατοπῆς σωραὶ τινες πρὸ τῶν Πυραμίδων κεῖνται· ἐν τοῦτοις δ'
 εὗρίσκεται ψήγματα καὶ τύπων καὶ μεγέθει φακοειδῶν· ἐνίοις δὲ, καὶ ὡς ἂν πτίσμα οἶον
 ἡμιλεπιστῶν ὑποτρέχει. Φασὶ δ' ἀπολιθωθῆναι λείψανα τῆς τῶν ἐργαζομένων τροφῆς
Strabon Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1146. Ed. Oxon.

rial of their visit to the place, not a single specimen of this very curious variety of limestone has yet been observed in any collection of minerals, public or private.* Shaw mentions the mortar used in the construction of the pyramids;† although a very erroneous notion be still prevalent, that the most ancient buildings were erected without the use of cement. A reference to this kind of test has been frequently made, with a view to ascertain the age of ancient architecture. All that can be asserted, however, upon this subject, with any degree of certainty, is, that if the most ancient architecture of Greece sometimes exhibit examples of masonry without mortar, that of Egypt is very differently characterized. As we descended from the summit, we found mortar in all the seams of the different layers upon the outside of the pyramid; but no such appearance could be discerned in the more perfect masonry of the interior. Of this mortar we detached and brought away several specimens. It is of a coarse kind; and contains minute fragments of *terra cotta*. Grobert says it does not differ from the mortar now in use.‡ Shaw believed it to consist of sand, wood ashes, and lime.§

The French had been very assiduous in their researches among these buildings. They even attempted to open the smallest of the three principal of the pyramids; and having effected a very considerable chasm in one of its sides, have left this mark behind them, as an everlasting testimony of their curiosity and zeal. The landing of our army in Egypt put a stop to their labour. Had it not been for this circumstance, the interior of that mysterious monument would probably be now submitted to the inquiry which has long been an object among literary men.

We were employed for a considerable time in a very useless manner, by endeavouring to measure the height of the greater pyramid. This we endeavoured to effect, by extending a small cord from the summit to the base, along the angles formed by the inclination of its planes; and then

* Greaves was almost disposed to doubt the truth of Strabo's description, because he did not observe these petrifications. "Were not Strabo a writer of much gravity, I should suspect these petrified graines." *Pyramidog.* p. 119. *Lond.* 1646.

† *Travels in the Levant*, p. 368. *Lond.* 1757.

‡ See Denon's voyage, as published by Peltier, tom. II. p. 80. *Apptu* *Lond.* 1802.

§ See Shaw's *Travels*, p. 368. also p. 206. *Lond.* 1757.

measuring the base as accurately as possible, together with the angle of inclination subtended by the sides of the pyramid. The result, however, as it disagreed with any account hitherto published, did not satisfy us.* It is a curious circumstance, that all accounts of its perpendicular height differ from each other. Some French engineers measured successively all the different ranges of stone, from the base to the summit. According to their observations, the height of this pyramid equals four hundred and forty-eight French feet.†

We now proposed to enter this pyramid: and as an inquiry into the origin and antiquity of these buildings will be reserved for a subsequent consideration, (after a careful examination of the pyramids of *Saccára*, as well as of those of *Djiza*,) a few brief remarks, containing little else than a mere description of objects, as they appeared to us, are all that will be added to this chapter.

As we ascended the sandy slope that extends from the mouth of the pyramid, on each side, towards the angles at the base, we observed that the Arabs had considerably increased in number since our arrival, and were very clamorous. One of them, while we were measuring the pyramid, had stolen the boat-compass given to us by captain Clarke; an irretrievable loss in such a situation. We offered ten times its value to the Sheik who accompanied us, but the thief had disappeared; besides, it was impossible to make an Arab sensible of the sort of instrument for whose recovery the reward was proposed. The Bedouin, who had stolen it, no doubt considered it to be a box of magic or of divination, whereby infidels were guided to the knowledge of hidden treasure; in search of which they always believed us to be engaged. They had the same opinion of the thermometer which they saw us carry to the summit. In many parts of Turkey, this last was believed to be an instrument for ascertaining distances during a journey.

Having collected our party upon a sort of platform before the entrance of the passage leading to the interior, and

* "Although these immense masses had been within our view for the preceding three days, and we gradually approached them in the boat, on our arrival we were more astonished than ever: the prodigious stones which are piled one upon another in regular courses, and joined together with cement, are continued to such an exceeding height, that some persons on the top of the great pyramid appeared to us immediately under it, as if they were birds." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

† *Déscrip. des Pyram. de Ghizé, par J. Grobert.* See Peltier's ed. *Voyage en Egypte par Denon, Append. tom. II. p. 62. Lond. 1802.*

lighted a number of tapers, we all descended into its dark mouth. The impression made upon every one of us, in viewing the entrance, was this; that no set of men whatever could thus have opened a passage, by uncovering precisely the part of the pyramid where the entrance was concealed, unless they had been previously acquainted with its situation; and for these reasons: First, because its position is almost in the centre of one of its planes, instead of being at the base. Secondly, that not a trace appears of those dilapidations which must have been the result of any search for a passage to the interior; such as now distinguish the labours of the French upon the smaller pyramid, which they attempted to open. The persons who undertook the work, actually opened the pyramid in the only point, over all its vast surface, where, from the appearance of the stones inclined to each other above the mouth of the passage, any admission to the interior seems to have been originally intended. So marvellously concealed as this was, are we to credit the legendary story given to us from an Arabian writer, who, discoursing of the Wonders of Egypt,* attributed the opening of this pyramid to *Almamou*, a caliph of Babylon, a bout nine hundred and fifty years since? A single passage of Strabo overturns its credit in an instant; as the same entrance was evidently known to him, above eight centuries before the existence of the said caliph. He describes not only the exact position of the mouth of the pyramid, but even the nature of the passage leading to the *Θήκη*, or *Soros*, in such a manner, that it is impossible to obtain, in fewer words, a more accurate description.† It seems also true, that this opening had been made before the time of Herodotus, although his testimony be less decisive. He speaks only of subterraneous chambers;‡ but it were impossible to

* G. Almec. Hist. Arab. ex Edit. Erp. See Greaves's Pyramidographia, pag. 44. Lond. 1646. Maillet had a similar notion: "Ce fut donc sans doute sous les princes Mahométans, et par le calife Mahmoud, qui regnoit à Bagdad, et qui mourut l'an de l'Egyre 205, ainsi que le rapportent les auteurs Arabes, que cette impiété fut commise." *Description de l'Egypte*, tom. I. p. 319. 1740.

† "Ἐχει δ' ἐν ὁψει μίσως πῶς τῶν πλευρῶν λίθων ἐξαίρεσιμον ἀρθέντος δὲ σύριγγι εἰς σκολιά μίχρι τῆς θήκης. "In media fere laterum altitudine, lapis exentilis est: eoque sublato obliqua fistula usque ad loculum." *Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1145. Ed. Oron.*

The Oxford editor of Strabo, in commenting upon the words *σύριγγι εἰς σκολιά μίχρι τῆς θήκης*, justly observes (*Vid. Not. 27. Ibid.*) the coincidence between Strabo's description of the entrance, and that given by Greaves and

‡ Herodot. *Enternæ* c. 125.

know any thing of their existence, unless the pyramid had first been entered. Hence it is evident, that a passage to the interior had been open from the earliest times in which any account was given of this pyramid; and perhaps it never was so completely closed, but that with a little difficulty an access might be effected. Proceeding down this passage, (which may be compared to a chimney about a yard wide, inclined, as Greaves affirms, § by an angle of twenty-six degrees to the platform at the entrance,) we presently arrived at a very large mass of granite; this seems placed on purpose to choke up the passage: but a way has been made round it, by which we were enabled to ascend into a second channel, sloping, in a contrary direction, towards the mouth of the first. That is what Greaves calls the *first gallery*, † and his description is so exceedingly minute, both as to the admeasurements and other circumstances belonging to these channels, that it were a useless waste of the reader's time to repeat them here. Having ascended along this channel, to the distance of one hundred and ten feet, we came to a horizontal passage, leading to a chamber with an angular roof, in the interior of the pyramid. In this passage we found, upon our right hand, the mysterious well, which has been so often mentioned. Pliny makes the depth of it equal to one hundred and twenty-nine feet; but Greaves, in sounding it with a line, found the plummet rest at the depth of twenty feet. We were able to ascertain the cause of failure in Greaves's observation, and in those of almost all others who have attempted to measure the depth of this well. The mouth of it is barely large enough to admit the passage of a man's body; but, as this may be effected, it is to be regretted that the French, during all their researches here, did not adopt some plan for the effectual examination of a place likely to throw considerable light upon the nature of the pyramid, and the foundation upon which it stands. This would require more time than travellers usually can spare, and more apparatus than they can carry with them. In the first place, it would be necessary to fasten lighted tapers at the end of a long cord, to precede the person descending, as a precaution whereby the quality of the air below may be proved and those fatal effects prevented which often attend an

* *Pyramidographia*, p. 35. *Lond.* 1646.

† *Ibid.* p. 86.

improvident descent into wells, and subterraneous chambers of every description. Many hands, too, would be required above, to manage and sustain the ropes by which any adventurer, during the experiment, must remain suspended. The greatest danger to be apprehended would consist in the hazard of an exposure to mephitic air; but due precaution, in a careful attention to the tapers lowered first, might obviate this. We threw down some stones, and observed that they rested at about the depth which Greaves has mentioned; but being at length provided with a stone nearly as large as the mouth of the well, and about fifty pounds in weight, we let this fall, listening attentively to the result from the spot where the other stones rested; we were agreeably surprised by hearing, after a length of time which must have equalled some seconds, a loud and distinct report, seeming to come from a spacious subterraneous apartment, accompanied by a splashing noise, as if the stone had been broken into pieces, and had fallen into a reservoir of water at an amazing depth. Thus does experience always tend to confirm the accounts left us by the ancients; for this exactly answers to the description given by Pliny of this well;* and, in all probability, the depth of it does not much differ from that which he mentions, of eighty-six cubits, or one hundred and twenty-nine feet, making the cubit equal to eighteen inches. Pliny says that the water of the Nile was believed to communicate with this well. The inundation of the river was now nearly at its height. Can it be supposed, that, by some hitherto unobserved and secret channels, it is thus conveyed to the bottom of this well? It seems more probable, that the water is nothing more than the usual result of an excavation in a stratum of limestone, carried on to the depth at which water naturally lies in other wells of the same country; as, for example, in the pit called *Joseph's Well*, in the citadel of Grand Caïro. The hill on which this pyramid stands is elevated about a hundred feet above the level of the plain country through which the Nile flows; and, allowing for the height of the mouth of the well above the base of the pyramid, we shall have nearly the distance required for the shaft sunk below the bed of the river.

* In Pyramide maxima est intus puteus octoginta sex cubitorum, fons illo admissum arbitratur." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 12. L. Bat. 1635.*

Some of the officers belonging to our party, while we were occupied in examining the well, had discovered two or three low ducts, or channels, bearing off from this passage to the east and west, (like those intersecting veins called by miners *cross courses*,) and which they believed to have been overlooked by former travellers. Certainly there is no accurate notice of them in the descriptions given by Sandys, Greaves, Vansleb, Pococke, Shaw, Niebuhr, Maillet, Lucas, Norden, Savary, or any other author that we have consulted. Perhaps the French engineers employed under Menou in the examination of the pyramids, by removing the stones which had closed the mouths of these channels, have laid them open. We undertook a most laborious and difficult task, in penetrating to the extremities of these ducts. The entrance being too low to admit a person upon his hands and knees, it was necessary to force a passage by lying flat upon our faces, gradually insinuating our bodies, by efforts with our arms and feet against the sides. The difficulty, too, was increased by the necessity of bearing lighted tapers in our hands, which were liable to be extinguished at every instant, in the efforts made to advance. As we continued to struggle in this manner, one after another, fearful of being at last jammed between the stones, or suffocated by heat and want of air, a number of bats, alarmed by our intrusion, endeavoured to make their escape. This we would gladly have permitted, but it was not easily effected. Flying against our hands and faces, they presently extinguished some of our tapers, and were with difficulty suffered to pass by us. After all our trouble, we observed little worth notice at the end of any of these cavities. In one, which the author examined, he found, at the extremity of the channel, a small square apartment, barely large enough to allow of his sitting upright; the floor of which was covered with loose stones, promiscuously heaped, as by persons who had succeeded in clearing the passage leading thither. All these trifling channels and chambers are perhaps nothing more than so many vacant spaces, necessary in carrying on the work during the construction of this vast pile, which the workmen neglected to fill as the building proceeded; like the cavities behind the *metopes* in the Parthenon at Athens, which, although usually filled in Grecian temples, were, as we find in certain instances, left void.

After once more regaining the passage whence these ducts diverge, we examined the chamber at the end of it, mentioned by all who have described the interior of this building. Its roof is angular; that is to say, it is formed by the inclination of large masses of stone leaning towards each other, like the appearance presented by those masses which are above the entrance to the pyramid. Then quitting the passage altogether, we climbed the slippery and difficult ascent which leads to what is called the principal chamber. The workmanship, from its perfection, and its immense proportions, is truly astonishing. All about the spectator, as he proceeds, is full of majesty, and mystery, and wonder. The materials of this gallery are said by Greaves to consist of white and polished marble.* This we did not observe. Pococke also mentions pilasters in an antichamber before the principal chamber.† Both which imply circumstances inconsistent with received opinions in history of ancient architecture. The pilaster is believed to be of modern date; and marble, according to some writers, was not used by architects before the fifteenth Olympiad.‡ Presently we entered that “glorious room,” as it is justly called by Greaves,§ where, “as within some consecrated oratory, art may seem to have contended with nature.” It stands “in the very heart and centre of the pyramid, equidistant from all its sides, and almost in the midst between the basis and the top. The floor, the sides, the roof of it, are all made of vast and exquisite tables of Thebaick marble.” By Greaves’s *Thebaick marble* is to be understood that most beautiful variety of granite which Linnæus distinguished by the epithet of *durus rubescens*, called by the Italians|| *Granito rosso* composed essentially of felspar, quartz, and mica. It is often called *Oriental granite*, and sometimes *Egyptian granite*, but it differs in no respect from European granite, except that the red felspar enters more largely as a constituent into the mass than

* *Pyramidographia*, p. 90. *Lond.* 1646.

† *Descript. of the East*, vol. I. p. 45. *Lond.* 1743.

‡ Before Christ, 720. See a former note in this Chapter. It should be said, however, that Shaw, who makes this remark. (*Trav.* p. 368, *Note 5.* *Lond.* 1757,) applies it to the *Grecian*, and not to *Egyptian* artists. There are Doric pilasters, of the age of Augustus, in the remains of *Mæcenas’s* Villa near Rome; and the immense capitals discovered among the ruins of a temple at *Girgenti* evidently belonged to pilasters of much earlier date.

§ *Pyramidographia*, p. 95.

|| See *Forbes’s Travels*. p. 226. *Lond.* 1776.

is usual in the granite of Europe.* So exquisitely are the masses of this granite fitted to each other upon the sides of this chamber, that having no cement between them, it is really impossible to force the blade of a knife within the joints. This has been often related before;† but we actually tried the experiment, and found it to be true. There are only six ranges of stone from the floor to the roof, which is twenty feet high; and the length of the chamber is about twelve yards. It is also about six yards wide. The roof or ceiling consists only of nine pieces, of stupendous size and length, traversing the room from side to side, and lying, like enormous beams, across the top.

Near the western side, stands the *Soros*, of the same kind of granite as that which is used for the walls of the chamber, and is exquisitely polished. It is distinguished by no difference of form or dimensions from the common appearance of the *Soros*, as it is often seen in Turkish towns, when employed by the inhabitants to supply the place of a cistern. It resembles, as Greaves has remarked,‡ “two cubes, finely set together, and hollowed within; being cut smooth and plain,” without sculpture or engraving of any kind. Its length on the outside is seven feet three inches and a half; its depth three feet three inches and three quarters; and it is the same in breadth. Its position is north and south.

This beautiful relic was entire when our troops were landed in Egypt. Even the French had refused to violate a monument considered by travellers of every age and nation as consecrated by its antiquity; having withstood the ravages of time above three thousand years, and all the chances of sacrilege to which it was exposed during that period from wanton indiscriminating barbarity. It is therefore painful to relate, that it is now no longer entire. The soldiers and sailors of our army and navy having had frequent access to the interior of the pyramid, carried with them sledge-hammers, to break off pieces, as curiosities to be conveyed to England; and began, alas! the havoc of its demolition.§ Had it not been for the classical taste, and the laud-

* The author has seen granite of the same kind, and of equal beauty, in fragments, upon the shores of the Hebrides; particularly at Icolmkill.

† See *Pyramidog*. p. 94.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 96.

§ During the same week in which this chapter was printing, little pieces of granite were shown to the author, as “*bits of King Pharaoh's Tomb*,” which were tak from this conulchre

able interference of colonel, now general Stewart; then commanding-officer in that district, who threatened to make an example of any individual, whether officer or private, who should disgrace his country by thus waging hostility against history and the arts, not a particle of the *Soros* would have remained. Yet, as a proof of the difficulty which attended this worse than *Scythian* ravage, the persons who thus left behind them a sad memorial of the British name, had only succeeded in accomplishing a fracture near one of the angles. It was thus disfigured when we arrived; and every traveller of taste will join in reprobating any future attempt to increase the injury it has so lamentably sustained.

Having quitted this pyramid, we amused ourselves by a cursory survey of the rest; concerning which we have nothing to communicate that would not be a mere repetition of what has been already related by a dozen other writers. We then descended into some of the smaller sepulchres. The walls within these were adorned with hieroglyphics. In some instances, we noticed the traces of ancient painting, an art that seems to have been almost coeval with the human race. The most remarkable instance of this kind was discovered by the author in a situation where, of all others, it was the least expected—upon the surface of the *sphinx*. As we drew near to view this prodigious colossus, a reddish hue was discernible over the whole mass, quite inconsistent with the common colour of the limestone used in building the pyramids, and of which the *sphinx* itself is formed. This induced us to examine more attentively the superficies of the statue: and having succeeded in climbing beneath the right ear of the figure, where the surface had never been broken, nor in any degree decomposed by the action of the atmosphere, we found to our very great surprise, that the whole had once been painted of a dingy red or blood colour, like some of the stuccoed walls of the houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum. Upon this painted surface there was also an inscription; but so concealed, by its situation beneath the enormous ear of the *sphinx*, and so out of the reach of observers viewing the statue from below, that no notice has yet been taken of it by any preceding traveller. As to the age of this inscription, the reader must determine for himself. The two first lines are Coptic; the rest is Arabic.

The characters were of considerable size, and they were inscribed in black paint upon the red surface of the statue. The author bestowed all possible care and attention in making the following copy of them, as a *fac-simile*.

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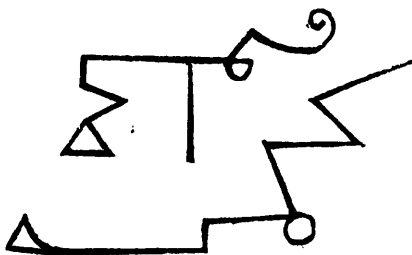
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Above these, and closer under the ear, were written, very conspicuously, these curious monograms,



probably also Arabic, but in their appearance somewhat resembling the kind of writing preserved among the *Inscriptiones Sinaïcæ*, as published by Kircher and by Pococke.* According to Pococke, this was not engraven, but *painted*, or *stained*, upon the rock where he saw it.

Whatsoever may be the age of these characters, the specimen of painting exhibited by the superficies of the stone is of still higher antiquity; not merely because the inscription appears *upon* the painted surface, but from the resemblance which the style of colouring bears to other examples which may be mentioned. The statues of the Parthenon at Athens were originally painted and gilded;† and however contrary the practice may seem to our notions of taste, a custom of *painting* statues, and of *gilding* the hair of images representing celestial beings, has continued, without intermission, from the age of Pericles and the *golden-haired* Apollos of Greece, down to the æra of those Italian artists who filled our old English churches with alabaster monuments, where, beside the *painted* effigies of our ancestors,‡ may be seen the

* See Plate LV. *Inscript. 88. Descr. of the East*, vol. I. p. 149. Lond. 1743. "The Greeks," says Pococke, "call this inscription Θεὸς χαρακτὰ γραμματῶν, 'The words of God engraven.'" The same inscription may be found also in Kircher's *Prodromus Copticus*.

† "Avant que ce marbre précieux eût été nettoyé, il conservoit des traces, non-seulement de la couleur encaustique dont, suivant l'usage des Grecs, on enduisoit la sculpture, mais encore d'une véritable peinture dont quelques parties étoient couvertes; usage qui tient aux procédés de l'enfance de l'art, dont il ne s'étoit pas encore débarrassé. Le fond étoit bleu: les cheveux et quelques parties du corps étoient dorés." *Voy. Monumens Antiques inédits. Description d'un Bas Relief du Parthenon*, par A. L. Millin. Traces of gilding are still to be perceived on the hair of the *Venus de Medicis*.

‡ A splendid monument of this kind, erected over the bodies of lord SURREY the Poet and his family, may be seen in Framlingham church, Suffolk.

figures of angels, with *gilded* wings and *gilded* hair. But these are subjects which, to a writer fond of pursuing the mazes of ancient history, offer such alluring deviations from the main route, as might lead both him and his reader into almost endless digression: the vestiges of ancient art, and the remains of ancient customs, visible in our daily walks, and in every haunt of society, so frequently suggest themselves to philosophical reflection, that, if due attention were paid to them, whole volumes would be inadequate to the dissertations that might be written. A few observations only, selected from the pages of an author who has expressed a similar observation; and who, most learnedly illustrating the arts of *painting* and *writing* among the ancient Egyptians,* has concentrated within a small compass whatever might have been added upon these topics, may terminate this chapter.

"The number of things to be spoken of here will not permit us to treat of each in particular; for it is necessary sometimes to neglect details, and confine ourselves to essentials only, that a chapter may contain what might otherwise require a whole book. The loss of a greater part of the history of the arts in Egypt is a circumstance truly lamentable. All the wrecks now remaining form only a mutilated body.

* * *

"Pliny has fallen into an unpardonable contradiction, when he maintains that the art of *writing* had been known from all eternity,† and denies, at the same time, that the Egyptians practised *painting* during six thousand years. Plato finds no difficulty in believing it to have been known to them for ten thousand years.‡ When Plato, in his *Dialogues*, makes an anonymous interlocutor assert that ten thousand years had elapsed since *some pictures then seen in Egypt were painted*, we should observe, that colours applied in all

Shakspeare has finely availed himself of this practice in the image of Hermione (*Winter's Tale*):

"PAUL.

—————O patience!

The statue is but newly fixt, the colour 's

Not dry. —————"

* Philosophical Dissertation on the Egyptians and Chinese, by De Pauw, vol. I. pp. 187, 188, 189, 190, 202, 203. Lond. 1795.

† De Pauw is evidently here aiming at the introduction of his own sceptical notions with respect to chronology. We are to understand Pliny's use of the word *eternity* only as referring to a period antecedent to existing records, or those of the *αἰώνιοι*: an observation necessary to rescue many of the ancient philosophers from the absurd notions imputed to them.

‡ De Legibus, Dial. 2.

their natural purity on the partitions of the Theban grottoes, might really be capable of supporting so long a period. The fewer mixtures are admitted in colours termed *native*, and appertaining neither to the vegetable nor animal kingdom, the less they are subject to change, where the rays of the sun do not penetrate. This was the case in the excavations we have cited, where many tints could be distinguished, of a beautiful red, and of a particular blue. Colours have remained until our day in some royal sepulchres of *Biban-el-Moluk*, which, in my opinion, have been constructed before the pyramids. The walls of great edifices, when once coloured, remained so for many centuries; or rather, for ever. The Egyptians do not seem to have used any particular procedure for making the colours and gilding adhere to the wall, or the bare rock, as some people have supposed. Count Caylus says, that the manner of laying them on, practised by the Egyptians, was not favourable.* Like all the eastern artists, they employed only virgin tints, and coloured rather than painted."

* *Antiq. Egypt. Etrusc. &c.* vol. I.

CHAP. V.

PYRAMIDS OF SACCARA.

Illustrious Travellers who have visited the Pyramids—Audience of the Vizier—Voyage to Saccára—Nocturnal Festivities of an Arab Village—Appearance of the Country to the South of Caïro—Indigolera—Situation of Memphis—Tumulus seen among the Pyramids—The most ancient Sepulchres not pyramidal—Village of Saccára—Difference between the Pyramids of Saccára and those of Djiza—Descent into the Catacombs—Notion founded on a passage in Herodotus—Evidence for the horizontal position of the bodies—Difficulty of ascertaining the truth—Repository of embalmed Birds—Cause of their interment—Hieroglyphic Tablet—Antelope—Antiquities found by the Arabs—Horses of the Country—Theft detected—History of the Pyramids—Manner of the Investigation—Age of those structures—Their Sepulchral Origin—Possible Cause of the Violation of the principal Pyramid—Historical Evidence concerning the building of Pyramids in Egypt—Further view of the subject—Hermetic Stéla—Mexican Pyramids.

It is impossible to leave the pyramids of Djiza without some notice of the long list of philosophers, marshals, emperors, and princes, who, in so many ages, have been brought to view the most wonderful of the works of man. There has not been a conqueror preëminently distinguished in the history of the world, from the days of Cambyzes down to the invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte, who withheld the tribute of his admiration from the genius of the place. The vanity of Alexander the Great was so piqued by the overwhelming impression of their majesty, that nothing less than being ranked among the gods of Egypt could elevate him sufficiently above the pride of the monarchs by whom they were erected. When Germanicus had subdued the Egyptian empire, and seated "a Roman præfect upon the splendid throne of the Ptolemies," being unmindful of repose or of triumph, the antiquities of the country engaged all his at-

tention.* The humblest pilgrim, pacing the Libyan sands around them, while he is conscious that he walks in the footsteps of so many mighty and renowned men, imagines himself to be for an instant admitted into their illustrious conclave. Persian satraps, Macedonian heroes, Grecian bards, sages, and historians, Roman warriors, all, of every age, nation, and religion, have participated, in common with him, the same feelings, and have trodden the same ground. Every spot that he beholds, every stone on which he rests his weary limbs, have witnessed the coming of men who were the fathers of law, of literature, and of the arts. Orpheus, Musæus, Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, Plato, Plutarch, contributed by their presence to the dignity of the place. Desolate and melancholy as the scene appears, no traveller leaves it without regret, and many a retrospect of objects which call to his mind such numerous examples of wisdom, of bravery, and of virtue. To this regret, on our part, was added the consciousness that we had now reached the utmost limit of our travels in this interesting country; for, with the exception of a visit to the pyramids of *Saccâra*, our journey towards the south was here terminated. We had now traversed about forty degrees of latitude, and principally by land; through countries, however, in which little of the refinements of civilized nations had ever been experienced: and we returned from Djiza to Caïro, to conclude our observations in Egypt, previous to the rest of our travels in Greece.

The next day we all dined with signor Rosetti, who sent a messenger to the sheik of the Bedouin Arabs at *Saccâra*, stating that we were desirous of seeing the pyramids and catacombs of that place, and begging to be informed on what day we might find guides and horses ready for us. On the following evening, August the twenty-fifth, his answer arrived. The sheik sent two men of his tribe, one to conduct us, and the other to return with our message, fixing the time for our visit. The Arab, who was to be our conductor ran away, but we procured another who happened to be then in Caïro. In all the great houses of this city, the earthen

* "*Ceterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens: disjectasque inter et vix pervias arenas, instar montium eductæ pyramides, certamine et opibus regum.*" *Tacit. Anna. lib. ii. c. 6. tom. I. p. 308. Par. 1682.*

vessels for containing water are perfumed. This becomes quite a ceremony. They first put into the vase some mastic, and a substance called *Makourgourivic*, which is brought from Upper Egypt. The name is written as it was pronounced; but perhaps it consists of more than one word. They then clarify the water with almond-paste, cool it by the evaporating jars, and thus it is made fit for drinking.

On the twenty-seventh we purchased every variety of seed which we could obtain from the gardeners of Caïro. After this we visited a manufactory of sabres, wishing to learn the art by which the Mamaluke blades are ornamented with a sort of clouded work. Sabres thus enamelled are said to be *damascened*, from the city of *Damascus*, where this work is carried on in the greatest perfection. We saw the artificers use a red liquid for this purpose, which appeared to be some powerful acid, from the caution they observed in touching it; but they would not allow us to examine it.

We then paid our long-promised visit to the vizier. This venerable man had lived so much with our artillery officers, that he entertained a very sincere regard for them. We made our appearance before him in company with colonel Holloway and major Hope. He welcomed these officers as if they had been his brothers. He had lost an eye when he was young, in playing the game of *Djirit*. He regaled us in the usual Oriental style; and conversed cheerfully upon the subject of his marches with our countrymen in the desert; also of his own exploits in battle. He was magnificently dressed, in robes of rich silk; and wore, instead of a turban, a high purple cap, such as the grand signior puts on upon public occasions. The pipe which he used for smoking was valued at seven thousand piastres; and his poniard was ornamented with the largest emerald we had ever seen, being equal in size to a walnut. He resided in a new and magnificent palace, the windows of which were ornamented with beautifully stained glass. His couch consisted of ebony, inlaid with mother of pearl; and a magnificent mirror, covered with a gauze net, decorated his apartment. His attendants were more numerous than is usual with other *Pachas*; but in his manners, there was neither the pride, the stateliness, nor the affected pomp, which we had remarked in the viceroys of Cyprus, of Jerusalem, and of other places.

In the evening, at six o'clock, we again set out in our

djerm, upon an excursion to the pyramids of *Saccára*, accompanied by Mr. Hammer and Dr. Whitman.* We arrived, about ten o'clock, in the village of *Sheik Atman*; and were much gratified upon our landing by a fine moonlight scene, in which two beautiful Arab girls were performing a dance called *back*, beneath a grove of palm-trees, to the music of a tambour and a pipe made of two reeds which the Arabs call *zumana*. A party of Arabs was seated in a circle round them, as spectators. The rest of the inhabitants were sleeping, either in the open air beneath the trees, or collected in tents, pell mell, among asses, mules, and dogs. Some of their children were running up and down the palm-trees, as if these had been so many ladders, to gather bunches of ripe dates for the circle round the dancers. The broad surface of the Nile reflected the moon's image, and conduced to the perfection of this most beautiful spectacle. The Arabs suffered us to walk among them, without being interrupted in their amusement or their repose. Some of them brought us fruit, and offered other refreshments. The women were all prostitutes, and almost naked: they wore coral necklaces, and large ivory bracelets. An Arab joined the dance, which we had never seen any of the men do before: he began by exhibiting a variety of attitudes with his drawn sabre; and then proceeded to express the tenderness of his passion for the female dancer in a very ludicrous manner, squeaking and howling like some wild animal. One of the sheiks who had received us upon our arrival went to a neighbouring village, to procure some additional horses for the next morning. The music and the dancing continued during the whole of the night: Our boat was anchored opposite to the farthest pyramid, towards the south; Caïro being still in sight.

In the morning of August the twenty-eighth, at five o'clock; as the sun was rising in great splendour behind the mountainous ridge of Mokatam, we went round the village, which consisted entirely of mud huts. Near to these were several gardens, in which we gathered radishes for our breakfast. We noticed also some dwarf varieties of the palm, which we had not before observed, growing in clusters among the taller trees, and bearing abundance of fruit, but hanging so low that it might be reached by the hand. One variety was called *balack mahaat*: the average height of

* This gentleman has since published an account of his Travels in Turkey.

this did not exceed ten or twelve feet. Another bore the name of *balack seawee*,* which grew somewhat taller. A female of uncommon beauty made her appearance out of one of the huts, without any veil; and, to add to the rarity of such a sight, her complexion was fair; much more resembling that of a Circassian than of an Egyptian woman. The quantity of pigeons hovering about these villages is quite astonishing. We also saw flights of larks of a very large size. All the country, as far as the eye extended, was so covered with water, that no particular course of the Nile could be perceived: it was more like a sea than a river. The pyramids of *Saccara* appeared in the distant view, beyond a country rich in plantations and full of villages, they are less regular in their structure than those of *Djiza*. The Arabian side of the Nile is not so fertile as the Libyan. Toward *Mokatam*, the country below the heights seemed to be quite a desert. Mount *Mokatam* is itself variously perforated by cavernous excavations: these were either the habitations or the sepulchres of the earliest settlers upon the eastern side of the Nile. At a neighbouring village, called *Eterfile*, two gun boats, and one smaller vessel, were now building. Near this village grew a great quantity of *INDIGOFERA*, which the Arabs call *Nilé*. Under a similar appellation it was mentioned at the close of the sixteenth century, as an object of inquiry by Richard Hakluyt;† for at that time it was not known in England what plant produced the *Indigo*.‡ Instructions were therefore given, “to know if *Anile*, that coloureth blew, be a natural commodity; and, if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the seed or root, with the order of sowing.” It is remarkable that *Nil*, or *Anil*, is the American name of the *Indigo* plant. The Portuguese have adopted their *Anil* or *Anileira*, from the American. In Chinese it is called *Tien Laam*, which signifies *sky blue*. The Arabs in Egypt, sow the seed of this plant only once in seven years; and they obtain two crops from it in each year. They cut it green, when about two feet in height: (they were cutting some at this time:) it is then put into boiling water, and left in jars for several days: after this it acquires the blue colour. The French had taught them to boil the plant, and use the scum for a die.

* *Phoenix dactilifera*.

† A. D. 1582.

‡ See Martyn's edition of Miller's Dictionary. Art. *Indigofera*.

We saw two Arabs crossing the Nile, where it was at least half a mile wide, by means of empty gourds, which they used instead of bladders, with their clothes fastened upon their heads. It was nine o'clock before we steered our *djerm* into a canal leading towards Saccára. We passed the village which Savary believed to denote the situation of ancient Memphis, and concurred with him in his locality of the city.* His description of the place, particularly of the Causeway and the Lake, is very accurate. But the village is not called *Menf*, or *Menph*, as he pretends, but *Menshee a Dashoo*.† The lake at this time was, in great measure, become a part of the general inundation. We sailed the whole way to the pyramids of Saccára, with the exception of about half a mile, which it was necessary to ride over, to the Mummy Pits.

Just beyond *Menshee a Dashoo* we were much struck by the appearance of a *Tumulus*, (standing to the south of a large graduated pyramid,) which, instead of being pyramidal, exhibits a less artificial, and therefore a more ancient form of sepulchre, than any of the pyramids. It is a simple hemispherical mound. We saw afterwards others of the same kind.

Comparing these appearances with that regularity of structure which characterizes the pyramids of Djîza, and also with another style of architecture observable at Saccára, where a transition may be discerned between one and the other, (the curved outline not having wholly disappeared, nor the rectilinear form prevailing altogether,) we may establish a rule for ascertaining different degrees of antiquity throughout the whole series of these monuments. The most ancient lie towards the south. Almost all the buildings of Saccára, of whatever size or shape, whether hemispheroidal or pyramidal, seem to be older than those of Djîza: and, as we proceed in surveying them from the south towards the north, ending with the principal pyramid of Djîza, we pass from the primeval mound, through all its modifications, until we arrive at the most artificial pyramidal heap.

The same rule will apply to similar monuments in America, which have been held sacred among the inhabitants of that great continent from the earliest periods of their his-

* Pococke also places it near the same spot.

† This seems to have been Pococke's "*El Menshiéh Dashour*." See *Descr. of the East*, vol. I. p. 49.

tory. In fact, the *Scythian Mound*, the *Tartar Tépé*, the *Teutonic Barrow*, and the *Celtic Cairn*, do all of them preserve a monumental form which was more anciently in use than that of a *pyramid*, because it is less artificial; and a proof of its alleged antiquity may be deduced from the mere circumstance of its association with the pyramids of Egypt, even if the testimony of Herodotus were less explicit as to the remote period of its existence among northern nations.*

We came to the wretched village of *Saccára*. Near to this place, toward the south, there is an ancient causeway, composed of stones twelve yards wide, leading up the short ascent to the plain on which the pyramids stand. Several of the Arabs left their huts to accompany us. When we reached the principal cluster of them, which is behind the village towards the west, we were conducted to the mouth of one of the catacombs; and prepared for a descent, as into the mouth of a well, by means of a rope-ladder which we had brought with us for that purpose. The sandy surface of the soil was covered with a quantity of broken vessels of *terra cotta*, pieces of human bones, skulls, bits of ancient glass, and heaps of ruins.

These pyramids appear to be a continuation of the same great cemetery to which those of *Djiza* also belonged. They extend four or five miles, both to the north and to the south of the village of *Saccára*. Some of them are rounded at the top, and, as it was observed by Pococke,† “do not look like pyramids, but more like hillocks cased with stone.” One of these is graduated, like the principal pyramid of *Djiza*; but with this difference, that the gradations here are much larger, although the pyramid be smaller. It consists only of six tiers or ranges of stone; the pyramid itself being an hundred and fifty feet in height.‡ The ranges or steps are twenty-five feet high, and eleven feet wide. The rest of these structures are so fully and accurately described by Pococke, that little will be added here to his description of them. There is one, built also with steps, which he believed to be as large as the principal pyramid of *Djiza*. The works at *Saccára*, independently of the different forms which characterize them, do all appear to be older than those of *Djiza*;

* See the account given by Herodotus of the Scythian mode of sepulture. *Melpomene*, c. 71.

† *Descr. of the East*, vol. I. p. 50.

‡ *Descr. of the East*, vol. II. p. 50.

the buildings being more decayed, and the stones crumbling, as if they were decomposed by longer exposure to the action of the atmosphere. Four miles to the south of Saccára stands a pyramid of unburned bricks. This is in a very mouldering state. The bricks contain shells, gravel, and chopped straw: they are of the same nature as the unburned bricks in modern use in Egypt. Pococke concluded, from its present appearance, that this pyramid was built with five gradations only.* It is of the same height as the other graduated pyramid of six degrees.

Our rope-ladder was not more than fifteen feet in length, and yet, when placed in the mouth of a catacomb, near the graduated pyramid, we found it reach low enough to enable us to descend into the first row of chambers. We entered a room containing scattered bones and fragments of broken mummies; these, when entire, had evidently been placed horizontally, upon a sort of shelf or tier of stone, about breast high, formed in the natural rock, and extended the whole length of this subterraneous apartment. Beyond the first chamber were others on the same level, exhibiting similar remains; and below these was a series, extending, in like manner, beneath the upper range. The smell in these catacombs was so exceedingly offensive, that it speedily drove us up again; although we could not explain the cause; for it seemed very improbable that it could originate in embalmed bodies deposited there so many ages before. We saw enough, however, to be convinced that an erroneous notion has been derived from a passage in Herodotus concerning the mode of placing mummies in these repositories.† It was impossible that the dead could have been placed *upright* upon their feet, for there was not sufficient space between the roof of the cavern and the place where the bodies were laid. From a former view of the *Soros* in the Djiza pyramid, and also from the appearance here, it became evident that the position of the corpses in Egyptian sepulchres was not *vertical*, but *horizontal*. This may be one of those instances mentioned by Pauw,‡ in which Herodotus (if the common notion of his meaning be correct) was deceived by his interpre-

* Descrip. of the East, vol. II. p. 53.

† Καὶ παρακλινθεῖσιν οὕτω, συναρπίζουσι ἐν οἰκίῳ αὐτοῦ, ἵσαντες ὁρῶν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν. "Inclusumque ita, reponunt in conclavi loculis talibus dicato, statuentes rectum ad parietem." Herodot. Hist. lib. ii. c. 86. p. 143. Ed. Valckem, et Wesseling. Amst. 1763.

‡ Philos. Diss. on the Egyptians and Chinese, vol. II. p. 43. Lond. 1795.

ters; not having himself examined the interior of the sepulchral repositories of the country. However, any doubt of this kind, as to the accuracy of an ancient historian, should never be raised without the utmost caution;* and nothing but the most positive evidence, derived from actual observation, has introduced one here. The testimony now given is, however, confirmed by many other writers. Kircher has given an engraved representation, made from a view of the *mummy crypts*, by *Burattinus*; delineated, as he says, with the utmost accuracy,† in which the bodies are all represented cumbent, with their faces upward. Denon's description of the *cryptæ* to the north-east of Thebes is of the same nature.‡ “At the bottom of the galleries, the *sarcophagi* stood insulated, of a single block of granite each, of twelve feet in length and eight in width, rounded at one end, and squared at the other, like that of St. Athanasius, in Alexandria.” And again, in his long and difficult search to discover “the manner in which a mummy was placed in its sepulchre,” having ventured into *cryptæ* where the bodies had never been disturbed, he found§ them “placed upon the ground, and allowed as much space as could contain them in regular order.” Pococke, describing the catacombs of Saccâra, speaks of “benches about two feet above the passages,” on which “he supposes|| they laid the mummies;” but, being desirous of adopting even these appearances to a notion of their upright posture, he adds,** “probably the inferior persons were piled one upon another, and the *heads of the family* set upright in the niches.” The suggestion is borrowed from Maillet, who mentions “several niches,” wherein the bodies “*des maîtres de la famille*” were placed.†† All this is very easily said; and it is all without proof. The fact is, that no traveller, as far as we can learn, ever did succeed in observing the position of a mummy within its *crypt*.‡‡ The Arabs, if they can avoid it, will suffer no one

* See note (§) p. 111.

† Vid. *Œdip. Egypt. syntagma* xiii. c. 4. tom. III. p. 400. Rom. 1654.

‡ Denon's Trav. in Egypt, vol. II. p. 174. Lond. 1803.

§ Ibid. p. 226.

|| Descr. of the East, vol. I. p. 54. Lond. 1743.

** Ibid.

†† Descr. de l'Égypte, tom. II. p. 21. A la Haye, 1749.

‡‡ If any traveller could have succeeded in making observations to this effect, it would have been Mr. W. Hamilton, during his travels in Upper Egypt. In reply to the author's inquiry upon this subject, he says, “I never was in a situation to see mummies in a constructed catacomb, or crypt; but

to behold what the French* writers call a *virgin mummy*. Denon says,† “It was a particular which they concealed with the utmost obstinacy.” Maillet mentions the same difficulty.‡ With regard to the different attitudes assigned by Maillet and by Pococke to the bodies of the rich and the poor in Egyptian sepulchres, it may generally be remarked, that the more magnificent an Egyptian tomb is found to be, the more striking is the evidence it contains for the horizontal position of the body: witness the *Soros* of the principal pyramid of Djiza, and the *Sarcophagi* mentioned by Denon in the sepulchres of Thebes.§

Upon the whole, therefore, as we cannot reconcile existing facts with the common notion which has been derived from the text of Herodotus, it is more reasonable to admit that his meaning has been misunderstood, than that the text itself involves an error; that he alludes, in fact, to the position of the mummy in the *private dwellings* of those among the Egyptians who had no sepulchre for its reception. In their private houses the Egyptians placed the bodies upright. This we learn from Diodorus Siculus, who says,|| “Those who have not sepulchres built,** make a new building in their own houses, and place the chest upright.” Silius Italicus alludes also to this standing posture.††

After our descent into these catacombs, we were taken to

a few miles above Philæ, I assisted at the opening of a common grave, full of mummies, lying upon their backs: these were covered with the common sand of the desert. The sculptures in the Egyptian temples, which frequently represent mourners around a mummy, always place the latter in a horizontal posture.” The testimony of one of Mr. Hamilton’s fellow travellers at Saccâra also confirms what has been said of the difficulty of making these observations. “We did not see the mummies of human bodies: those pits which the Arabs generally show are filled up with sand, interspersed with bones, and not at all interesting to examine. The places in which there are perfect mummies are covered over with palm branches and sand, with a view to conceal their situation. There is a sort of mummy trade among the Arabs; and you are much more likely to procure one at Caire than at Saccâra.” *Squire’s MS. Journal.*

* See Denon, vol. II. p. 224. Vansleb (Rélation d’Egypte, p. 149. *Paris* 1667) has a different expression, “Un puits vierge.”

† Travels in Egypt, Eng. ed. p. 224. vol. II. *Lond.* 1803.

‡ Descr. de l’Egypte, tom. II. p. 22. *A la Haye*, 1740.

§ Denon’s *Voyage en Egypte*, tom. I. p. 236. *Paris* ed.

|| Diodor. Sic. lib. i. c. 92. *Amst.* 1746.

** Krius. *Ibid.*

†† “——— Ægyptia tellus
Claudit odorato post sonus slantia busto
Corpora. ————”

other *mummy pits*; but the smell in all of them was offensive, and the appearances were merely repetitions of what we had seen before. Every one of these places had been opened, and ransacked, by the Arabs. We observed a beautiful crystallization, in diverging fibres, of some white substance, upon the wall of one of the chambers, perhaps a *fibrous carbonate of soda*; but in our endeavours to remove it, the specimen was destroyed; it broke immediately upon the slightest touch. We were then conducted to the mouth of one of those subterraneous repositories in which the embalmed birds were deposited. Like the entrance to all the other catacombs, this resembled that of a well. We descended, as before, by our rope-ladder, to the depth of twenty feet; and here found a level, or horizontal duct, along which we were compelled to creep upon our bellies, to the distance of about sixty feet, when we came to a central place, whence several passages diverged.* These were almost choked by sand, by a number of broken jars, and by a quantity of swathing and of embalmed substances, looking like so much tinder and charcoal dust, which had been taken out of those jars. As we followed the intricate windings of these channels, we came at last to a passage ten feet in height, and six in width, where the whole space was filled, from the floor to the roof, by the jars, in an entire state, as they were originally deposited. These have often been described. They were all lying horizontally, tier upon tier, the covers being toward the outside, after the manner in which quart bottles are often placed in our cellars. We took down several of them; but as fast as we removed one row, another appeared behind it; and, as we were told by the Arabs, such is their prodigious number, that if hundreds were removed, the space behind them would appear similarly filled up. The same appearance is presented at the extremi-

* "The well itself is about six feet square; the sand, and stones, and broken pottery, which are constantly falling, render the descent extremely inconvenient. At the bottom of it is a small hole, which, by those who are at all corpulent, is passed with very great difficulty; indeed, each time it is necessary to clear the sand from the hole, which constantly fills up the entrance. Here, having taken off our coats, with candles in our hands, our faces to the ground, our feet foremost, and an Arab pulling our legs from within, we worked our way through a passage about twenty yards in length, until we arrived at the place where the sacred birds are deposited. The whole is excavated out of the solid rock, and of an inconceivable extent. We did not wander far from the entrance, fearful of being lost in the labyrinth. To the right and left of the entrance are passages, which, as you advance, branch off in various directions." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

ties of all these galleries, the passages having been cleared only by the removal of the jars. We opened several of them in the pit. For the most part, the contents of all these vessels were the same; but there were some exceptions. Generally, after unfolding the linen swathing, we found a bird, resembling the English curlew, having a long beak, long legs, and white feathers tipped with black. It is certainly the same bird which Bruce has described,* called by the Arabs *Abou Hannes*.† In some of these jars, however, instead of a bird, were found parts of other animals, carefully embalmed, and wrapped in linen; as the head of a monkey, or of a cat, without the entire body. Such appearances are rare. Pococke relates, that, in one of the irregular apartments, he saw several larger jars, which might be intended for dogs, or for other animals; of these, says he, some have been found, but they are now very rare.‡ We saw none of those larger jars; they all appeared to be of equal size, about fourteen inches in length, of a conical form, and made after the same manner, of coarse earthenware. A luting fastened on the cover: this luting has been described as mortar, but it seems rather to have consisted of the mud of the Nile.§ It required considerable labour to move about a dozen of these jars with us, in our passage back to the mouth of the repository; but we succeeded in rolling them before us, until we regained the rope-ladder, when they were easily raised to the surface, and afterwards sent to England, to be distributed among our friends. Another obligation now remains to be fulfilled; namely, that of endeavouring to account for the singular

* See the plate and description of this bird in *Bruce's Trav.* vol. V. p. 172. *Edinb.* 1790.

† The only entire specimen of this bird, taken from its embalmed state, was obtained from one of the Egyptian jars by Mr. John Pearson, surgeon, of London, who, having carefully removed all the linen swathing, and every extraneous substance, succeeded in the entire development of the perfect animal. Mr. Pearson communicated his observations upon the subject to the Royal Society, among whose transactions they were published; accompanied by an engraved representation of the bird, as it appeared after the covering was removed. See a very interesting publication, entitled *Histoire Naturelle et Mythologique de l'Égypte*; par JULES-CÉSAR SAVIGNY, *Membre de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 8vo. with plates exquisitely drawn and coloured. *Paris*, 1805.

‡ Description of the East, vol. I. p. 53. *Lond.* 1743.

§ "The pottery itself, although three thousand years old, appears as new as if it were of yesterday. We broke several of the pots, and found some very perfect birds. We met with a wing of the Ibis, having the feathers still on the pinion: as soon, however, as this was exposed to the air, the plumage fell to pieces, and was lost." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

deposit of these birds in the manner which has been described.

A reverence for certain birds that destroy flies and serpents seems common to the inhabitants of all countries. In almost all parts of the world, it is considered as an unpropitious omen to put to death the swallow or the martin. The same respect has generally been paid to the stork, the heron, and their different species. At this day, the coming of these birds is hailed as a lucky presage over all the north of Europe; particularly in Denmark, and in Holland, where the nests of the stork may be observed upon the roofs of cottages and farm-houses, in almost every village. It is observed by Pauw,* that the Turks, who do not pretend to be idolaters, are as careful in preventing the *Ibis* from being destroyed as the Greeks and Romans. It would have been well if this writer had explained what particular bird he alluded to under this appellation; because it is believed that the bird anciently called *Ibis* is become very rare in Turkey. The Egyptians, says Pauw,† instead of being the inventors of a superstitious reverence for the *stork* and the *Ibis*, brought this with them from *Æthiopia*; together with the worship of the *cat*, the *weasel*, the *ichneumon*, the *sparrow-hawk*, the *vulture*, and the *screech-owl*; a worship founded on the utility of these animals. "It was absolutely necessary," says he,‡ "to put them under the protection of the law, otherwise the country would have been altogether uninhabitable." The Mahometans, according to Shaw,§ have the stork|| in the highest esteem and veneration; it is as sacred among them as the *Ibis* was among the Egyptians; and no less profane would that person be accounted, who should attempt to kill, nay, even to hurt or to molest it.** We are, moreover, told by Pliny, that the Egyptians invoked the *Ibis* against the approach of serpents.†† In the earliest ages

* Philosophical Dissertations on the Egyptians and Chinese, vol. II. p. 100. Lond. 1795.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Travels, p. 410. Lond. 1757.

|| "*Leklek*, or *Legleg*, is the name that is commonly used by the Arabian authors, although *Bel arge* prevails over all Barbary. Bochart (*Hierog. lib. ii. cap. 29.*) supposeth it to be the same with the *Hasida* of the scriptures." Ibid. note 6.

** Travels, *ibid.*

†† "Invocant et *Ægyptii* *Ibes* suas contra serpentium adventum." Plin. *Hist. Nat.* cap. 28. tom. I. p. 530. L. Bat. 1635.

of Egyptian history, the same regard was paid to the *Ibis*, and for the same cause. Josephus mentions this bird in the beginning of his Jewish annals, as harmless to all creatures, except to serpents. He relates that Moses, leading an army into Ethiopia, made use of the *Ibis* to destroy a swarm of serpents that infested his passage.* Cicero alludes to this property in the *Ibis*,† and Pliny speaks of the reverence in which it was held. The punishment in Thessaly for having occasioned the death of one of these birds was equal to that for homicide‡ Thus we have the most ample testimony as to the veneration in which these birds were universally held. The peculiar circumstances which occasioned the remarkable burial of so many of their bodies in the catacombs of Egypt, are explained by *Ibn Washi*, an Arabian writer; who says, that it was usual to embalm and bury an *Ibis* at the initiation of the priests.§ When we reflect upon the number of the priests who officiated in the temples and colleges of the country, and the lapse of ages during which the practice continued, extending even to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, we may easily account for the astonishing number of these birds thus preserved. Plutarch, moreover, mentions the burial of the *Ibis*, and of other animals held sacred among the Egyptians. He says, it was sometimes a private, and sometimes a public, ceremony.|| The *Ibis*, with other sacred animals, was put to death by the priests, and *privately* buried, as an expiatory sacrifice to avert pestilential diseases. The burial was *public* when any particular species of the sacred animals was to be interred.**

We had no sooner left the sepulchres of the *Ibis*, than we observed Mr. Hammer, on horseback, coming towards us, followed by a large party of Arabs, who were dragging after him a large stone, which had closed the mouth of one

* *Josephi Hist. Antiq. Jud.* lib. ii. c. 10. *Colon.* 1691. It is, however, maintained by *Savigny*, from the anatomy of the *Ibis*, that this bird could not have swallowed serpents.

† “*Ibes maximam vim serpentium conficiunt,*” &c. *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* lib. i. p. 210. *Ed. Lamb.*

‡ “*Honos iis serpentium exitio tantus, ut in Thessalia capitale fuerit occidisse, eademque legibus pœna, quæ in homicidam.*” *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. x. c. 23. tom. I. p. 527. *L. Bat.* 1635.

§ See the work of *Ibn Washi*, on Ancient Alphabets, &c. as translated by Mr. Hammer. The same writer is mentioned by *Kircher*, under the name of *Aben Vaschia*.

|| Plutarch. *de Isid. et Osir.* c. 73. *Camb.* 1744.

** *Ibid.*

of the mummy-pits. It was a very fine hieroglyphical tablet; and as Mr. Hammer wished very much to send it to the Oriental Academy of Vienna, we assisted him in moving it towards the *djerm*, and succeeded in getting it on board. It was afterwards sent to Rosetta, and to the English fleet; but we are yet ignorant whether it ever reached its destination. In the fear that it may have been lost, and at the same time in the hope of making known to whom it properly belongs, if it now exist in other hands than those for whom Mr. Hammer intended it, a few words may be added as a description of it.

It seemed, from the rude and angular style of the sculpture, as well as from the substance itself, upon which the characters were engraved, to be of the highest degree of antiquity. It was a slab of common gray limestone, about four feet in length, and two in breadth. Certain of the inscribed characters (for example, IAI and IAI) are so evidently written letters, that if this single tablet alone remain, as a specimen of hieroglyphic writings, there will be little reason to doubt the use of these characters. Among the four figures in the upper department, Anubis is seen with an egg upon his head, and the *Crux ansata* in his left hand. Osiris, by his side, bears in his right hand the *flagellum*, and in his left the *crook*. Upon the right and left of these figures, on either side, is seen an altar supporting the *lotus flower*; and, beyond these, are two figures in the attitude of almehs, uttering the *Eleleû* at funerals, but perhaps intended to represent a similar ceremony as practised by the *priests*, who are distinguished by the *baldness of their heads*. Herodotus says that it was the peculiar custom of Egyptian priests to shave their heads.* The whole of this symbolical picture may have related to a sepulchral subject: its meaning was explained by inscriptions placed above the figures, and in other parts of the tablet. Anubis with the egg, and the type of *life to come* in his left hand,† may typify that embryo state of the soul which precedes its revivification after death; as may also the unexpanded flower of the lotus. Another

* Herodot. *Euterpe*, c. 36. Endoxus shaved not only his beard but his eyebrows, during the time that he resided with the priests of Egypt. *Diogen. Laert.* lib. viii. *segment.* 87. pag. 545. Herodotus further relates, (*Euterpe*, c. 37,) that the priests shaved their whole bodies every third day.

† See chap. IV. p. 173. of this volume.

symbolical picture, below this, exhibits a solemn procession, perhaps the same which Plutarch describes* as taking place annually, upon the nineteenth of the Egyptian month *Pachon*, when the priests carried rich odours and spices to celebrate the *finding of Osiris*, a ceremony much resembling that of the *Resurrection* in the Greek Church; the *Christos voscress* of the Russians. Inscriptions occupy all the rest of the tablet, either engraven in regular lines beneath, upon the lower part of the stone, or above the heads and by the sides of the pictured figures. This very curious relic, therefore, shows us, not only the *sacred writing*, but also the sort of *symbolical painting* used by the priests of Egypt. At the same time, in rudeness of design, and in the forced exhibition of profile, the style of delineation resembles that which is seen upon the most ancient *terra-cotta* vases, found in the sepulchres of those Grecian colonies that were established in the south of Italy.

Some young Arabs brought us an antelope, which they had recently caught. This we purchased of them for three piastres; about four shillings of our money. They had so bruised its legs with cords, that, notwithstanding all our endeavours to preserve this beautiful animal, it lived with us but a short time. The poor creature, after being compelled to exchange its free range of the desert for a confined birth on board the *djerm*, grew tame, and seemed sensible of the kindness of its keepers, for it actually died licking the hands of the person who fed it. The people of Saccára brought us also several antique idols, beads, amulets, &c. found about the pyramids, and in the catacombs. Of these we shall briefly notice the more remarkable.

1. *Scarabæi*, formed of onyx-stones, with signets, containing hieroglyphic characters, but executed in the coarsest manner; the stones being at the same time so decomposed, that they are become of a whitish colour, quite opaque, and externally resemble common limestone. Of this nature were the signets mentioned by Plutarch, as worn by soldiers.†
2. Small lachrymatory vessels of *terra-cotta*, formed of pale-white clay, without varnish.
3. Vessels of libation, of the same materials.

* Plut. de Isid. et Osir. p. 39. Comb. 1744.

† De Isid. et Osir. c. 10. Lut. 1624.

4. Knife-blades of copper. These are frequently represented in hieroglyphic writing.
5. Small idols, formed of blue glass, shaped to resemble the form of the *mummy-chests*.
6. Smaller images of *Anubis*, of the same substance, bored to be worn as ear-drops, or amulets round the neck.
7. Similar figures of *Orus*.
8. Sculptured idols, formed of limestone, representing the double image of *Leo* and *Virgo*, crowned by an orb, as the *Sun*.
9. Similar figures of *Isis*.
10. Beads of white glass, each of which has *seven* blue spots.
11. Beads of white glass, without spots.
12. Deformed images, resembling the idols of India and China.
13. *Phalli*, and indecent images of *Osiris*, as mentioned by Plutarch.* All these are of blue glass, bored, to be worn as amulets.
14. Small amulets of the same substance, and similarly bored, which are very numerous, representing a *horse's head*. This is the symbol which Virgil mentions as being found by the Carthaginians in digging for the foundation of their city.† It is represented upon the medals of Carthage, which probably suggested the circumstance to Virgil's mind. It also appears upon the *Soros*, called the *Lover's Fountain*, which was found near the castle of *Kallat el Kabsh* in Caïro, and is now in the British Museum. Nor are we without its explanation; for *Ceres*, who was the same as *Isis*, was worshipped under the form of a *horse's head* in Sicily. It is, therefore, only one of the modifications under which the ancients recognised *Isis*, the *Pantamorpha Mater*. Some of these amulets were curiously adorned with small eyes of ancient bronze.
15. Sculptured images, formed of an opaque vitrified substance, resembling No. 5. only larger in size, and covered with hieroglyphic characters. These were about four inches in length.

* Πανταχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωπόμορφον Ὀσίριδος ἄγαλμα δεκνόνουσιν, ἐξερθιάζον τῷ αἰδοίῳ, διὰ τὸ γόνημον καὶ τὸ τρώφιμον. Plut de Isid. et. Osir. c. 51. Lut. 1624.

† "Lucus in urbe fuit media, lætissimus umbrâ,
Quo primum jactati undis et turbine, Pæni
Effodere loco signum, quod regia Juno
Monstrarat, caput acris equi."——

Æneid, l. 445.

The horses of our Arab guard were the finest we had ever seen; not even excepting those of Circassia. In choosing their steeds, the Arabs prefer mares: the Turks give the preference to stallions. The Mamalukes and Bedouin Arabs are perhaps better mounted than any people upon earth; and the Arab grooms were considered, by many of our officers, as superior to those of our own country. These grooms affirm that their horses never lie down, but sleep standing, when they are fastened by one leg to a post; and that the saddle is never taken off, except for cleaving the animal. We give this relation as we heard it, without venturing to vouch for its truth. After paying the *sheik* for the horses we had hired, and the peasants for their labour, we returned in our boat to *sheik Atman*, where we had rested the preceding night; and found, as before, a party of *almehs*, with bells upon their fingers, exhibiting the dance we had then noticed, as if it had continued, without intermission, from the time of our first coming to the village. Several Turkish soldiers had arrived from the vizier, to collect straw for his cavalry. While our servant was conversing with one of these men, who was seated upon the ground observing the dance, an Arab, understanding the Turkish language, joined them, and entered into conversation. This man contrived to steal from the servant his purse, containing four sequins of Holland. Upon being accused of the theft, he denied it; but all the Turks, indignant at the audacious manner in which the theft had been committed, insisted upon a general search. The money was found in the Arab's shoes, placed beneath his pillow, under a date tree; and the purse where he had thrown it, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. Upon the following morning we left the village as soon as day light appeared, and at eleven A. M. again entered the canal of Caïro.

Having thus concluded our observations upon the pyramids of *Saccára*, as well as those of *Djîza*, the remainder of this chapter will be appropriated to a few observations upon the history of these remarkable monuments.

After the numerous accounts which, during so many ages, have been written to illustrate the origin of the pyramids, it is not probable that any new remarks will meet with much attention. Yet how few, among all the authors who have undertaken to investigate this subject, have ever ventured to express an opinion of their own. Struck by the magnitude of the objects themselves; by their immense antiquity;

and by a consciousness of the obscurity in which their history has been veiled, every succeeding traveller contents himself with a detail of his predecessors, only showing the extent of the labyrinth wherein he is bewildered. Yet something, perhaps, might be accomplished, were it allowable upon good authority to annihilate a most redundant source of error and imposture. With this view, it may be advisable to abandon all that Grecian historians have written upon the subject.* The arrogance and vanity with which they endeavoured to explain every thing, consistently with their own fables and prejudices, caused the well-known observation made to Solon by an Egyptian priest, who, according to Plato, maintained that the "Greeks were always children, and had no knowledge of antiquity." Hence originate those difficulties mentioned by Pauw, as encountered by persons who study the monuments of a country concerning which the moderns have conspired with the ancients to give us false ideas. "The latter, indeed," says he,† "were probably deceived by being at the discretion of a set of men called interpreters, whose college was established in the reign of Psammetichus, and who might be compared to those people called *ciceroni* at Rome. Travellers who went and returned, like Herodotus, without knowing a word of the language of the country, could learn nothing but from these interpreters. These men, perceiving the inclination of the Greeks for the marvellous, amused them, like children, with stories inconsistent with common sense, and unworthy of the majesty of history." If we would obtain authentic information concerning the earliest history of the Egyptians, we must be contented to glean from other sources; and principally from Jewish and Arabian writers. The Jews, by the long residence of their forefathers in Egypt, and also by the constant intercourse offered in the contiguity of this country and Judea, were of all people the most likely to have preserved some knowledge of Egyptian antiquities: and the Arabs have preserved not only the names bestowed upon the pyramids from the earliest times, but also some traditions as to the use for which they were intended. By the dim

* "Mirum est quo præcedat Græca credulitas. Nullum tam impudens mendacium est, ut teste careat." *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. viii. c. 20. tom. I. p. 426. *L. Bat.* 1635.

† *Philosoph. Diss. on the Egyptians and Chinese*, vol. II. p. 43. *Lond.* 1795

light thus afforded, and by comparing the existing remains with similar works in other countries, and with the knowledge we possess of the customs of all nations in their infancy, we may possibly attain something beyond conjecture, as to the people by whom the pyramids were erected, and the purpose for which they were intended. The epocha of their origin was unknown when the first Greek philosophers travelled into Egypt.* They are even more ancient than the age of the earliest writers whose works have been transmitted to us. That we may arrive, therefore, at any thing like satisfactory information concerning them, the following order of inquiry may be deemed requisite:

- I. Who were the *inhabitants* of this part of Egypt in the remote period to which these monuments refer?
- II. Is there any thing in the pyramids, as they now appear, which corresponds with any of the known customs of *this people*?
- III. Did any thing occur in the history of the *same people* which can *possibly* be adduced to explain the present violated state of the principal pyramid?
- IV. Doth any record or tradition attribute the origin of the pyramids to *this people*, or to a period equally remote with that of their residence in Egypt?

If the *three last* of these queries admit of an answer in the affirmative, and a satisfactory reply can be given to the *first*, the result will surely be, either that we do possess documents sufficient to illustrate this very difficult subject, or, at least, that a very high degree of probability attaches to the opinion thereby suggested; and that the obscurity in which this part of ancient history has been involved, is principally owing to the cause assigned by Pauw,† namely, to a train of theories founded upon the bewildering fables of the Greeks.

To proceed, therefore, according to the proposed method of investigation:

* "Nihil certius est, quam omnia, quæ de conditoribus pyramidum prodita nobis sunt ab Ægyptiis et Græcis, esse incertissima. Ipsi id Verteres fatentur." *Perizonii Ægypt. Orig. et Temp. Antiquiss. Investigatio*, cap. xxi. p. 386. *L. Bat.* 1711.

† *Philosoph. Diss. &c.* vol. II. p. 43. *Lond.* 1795.

I.

Who were the inhabitants of this part of Egypt, in the remote period to which these monuments refer?

The kingdom of Egypt, according to the best authorities admitted in chronology,* had lasted about seventeen hundred years at the conquest of Cambyses.† The *first Princes* spoken of in sacred scripture are those “of Pharaoh,” mentioned in the books of Moses,‡ near two thousand years before the Christian æra. The *first pyramid*, according to Herodotus,§ was built by Mæris, the last of a line of kings from Menes to Sesostris; and therefore it must have been erected some ages before the Trojan war. Without, however, placing any reliance upon this record, or attempting to assign a particular epocha for any one of these monuments, we may venture to assume, as a fact, upon the authority of all writers by whom they are noticed, that they existed above sixteen hundred years before the birth of Christ. Almost a century before that time, the prosperity of Joseph, then a ruler in this country, and a dweller in the very city to which these monuments belonged, is described as having extended “unto the utmost bounds of THE EVERLASTING HILLS.” These words,|| as applied to the place of his residence, and the seat of his prosperity, are very remarkable. He “bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh,” reducing all its independent provinces into one monarchy. The entire administration of this empire was intrusted to him; for Pharaoh said,** “Only in the throne will I be greater than thou.” In the remote period, therefore, to which the pyramids refer, “Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he, and his father’s house.” It is said of them,†† that they “increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with them.” The customs of embalming bodies, and of placing them in sepulchral chambers, were then practised; for Jacob‡‡ was embalmed, and “gathered unto his fathers in the cave of the field of Ephron.” At the death of Joseph, he too was embalmed,§§ but not “gathered unto his fathers.” He was entombed, to use the literal expression of the Septuagint,|||| EN THI ΣΟΡΩΙ, in

* See the calculation of Constantine Manasses.

† B. C. 525.

‡ “The Princes also of Pharaoh.” Genes. xii. 15.

§ Herodot. Euterpe, c. 101.

|| Genes. xlix. 26.

** Exod i. 7.

†† Ibid. i. 26.

‡‡ Gen. xli. 40.

§§ Ibid. i. 2.

|||| Ibid

Egypt. And this mode of his interment suggests a reply to the *second* question before proposed.

II.

Is there any thing in the pyramids, as they now appear, which corresponds with any of the known customs of this people?

The nature of a *Soros* has been repeatedly explained, upon the indisputable authority of inscriptions where this name has been assigned to a particular kind of receptacle for the dead, one of which now exists in the chamber of the principal pyramid. This kind of coffin has sometimes one of its extremities rounded, and sometimes both are squared; but its dimensions are almost always the same, and it is very generally *monolithic*, or of one stone. This is the kind of coffin which the Romans called *Sarcophagus*;* and any doubt as to its use, seems to be without reason; because the *Soros*, in many instances, has borne, not only its name inscribed upon it in legible characters, but also the purport for which it was intended. The principal pyramid therefore contains that which corresponds with the known customs of a people who inhabited Egypt in the remote period to which the pyramids refer, because Joseph's body was put in τῇ Σόρῳ. And on this fact alone, if no other could be adduced, the *sepulchral origin* of those monuments is decidedly manifest.†

III.

Did any thing occur in the history of the same people which can possibly be adduced to explain the present violated state of the principal pyramid?

Previous to the consideration of this question, it may be proper to mention, that the custom of heaping an artificial mound, whether of stones or of earth, above the *Soros*, after interment, was a common practice of the ancients. Examples of this kind have been previously alluded to in the former volumes of these travels. The most ancient form of this sort of mound was not pyramidal. However ancient the pyramids may be, a simpler hemispheroidal or conical

* Augustin. de Civit. Dei, l. xviii. c. 5. Julius Pollux, x. 150.

† "Communior ergo sententia fuit, sepulchra fuisse regum (vide Diodorum Sic. lib. i. pag. 40, 41.) quod ex solio seu sandapila in illis residua satis constat." Perizon. Orig. Ægypt. c. 21. p. 393. L. Bat. 1711.

form seems to have preceded the more artificial angular structure. Among the pyramids of *Saccara*, which appear to be more ancient than those of *Djizza*, there are instances, as we have shown, not only of this primeval pile, but of its various modifications, until it assumed the pyramidal shape. One example has been noticed among the pyramids of *Saccara*, of an immense mound, which corresponds in its form with the common appearance presented by ancient *tumuli* almost all over the world, as they are found in countries where the pyramidal shape was never introduced. But to proceed, in the discussion of the *third* question.

The body of Joseph being thus placed ἐν τῇ Σόρῳ, and buried according to the accustomed usage of the Egyptians (as manifested by the existence of one of their ancient sepulchres containing the receptacle in question,) was not intended to remain in Egypt. The Israelites had bound themselves to him by an oath, that when they left the land, they would "carry his bones" with them.* Accordingly we find, that when a century and a half had elapsed from the time of his burial, the sepulchre, which during all this period had preserved his reliques in a *Soros*, was opened by the children of Israel. Their number amounted to six hundred thousand men when they went out of Egypt, beside the mixed multitude by whom they were accompanied;† a sufficient army, surely, even for the opening of a pyramid if it were necessary, especially when the persons employed for the undertaking were acquainted with the secret of its entrance; having, from the very moment of the patriarch's interment, been under a solemn engagement to remove the body which they had there placed. However this may be determined, it is certain the tomb was opened; for no sooner is their departure mentioned, than we read‡—"Moses took the bones of Joseph with him." Here, then, we have a record in history, which implies the violation of a sepulchre, and the actual removal of an embalmed body from the *Soros* in which it is said to have been deposited. The locality, too, of this sepulchre seems to coincide with that of the particular cemetery where this pyramid has for so many ages unaccountably borne the marks of a similar violation; its secret entrance being disclosed to view; and

* "And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and you shall carry up my bones from hence." *Gen. l. 25.*

† *Exod. xii. 37, 38.*

‡ *Ibid. xiii. 19.*

its *Soros* always empty.* It is by no means here presumed that this circumstance *will* account for its violated state; but it furnishes a curious coincidence between the present appearance of the pyramid, and a fact recorded in ancient history which *may possibly be urged* to that effect. No other pyramid has been thus opened; neither is it probable that any such violation of a sepulchre would ever have been formerly tolerated; so sacrilegious was the attempt held to be among all the nations of antiquity, Egyptians, Jews, Greeks, and Romans.† At the same time, there are many weighty arguments against the opinion that such a stupendous pyramid would have been erected by Joseph's posterity over his remains, even if they had worshipped him as a God, when it was known that his body was not intended to remain in the country: but the honours paid to the dead in Egypt were in certain instances, as it is evident, almost beyond our conception; and there is no saying what, in a century and a half, the piety of some hundred thousand individuals might not have effected, especially when aided by the Egyptians themselves, who equally revered the memory of Joseph, although they became, at last, inimical to his descendants. This part of the subject is not altogether essential to the end proposed: it has been introduced rather as a curious inquiry suggested by the connexion which appears to exist between the pyramids and the history of the Hebrews: it neither affects nor alters the main argument, as to the nature of these monuments in general.

IV.

Doth any record or tradition attribute the origin of the PYRAMIDS to the ISRAELITES, or to a period equally remote with that of their residence in Egypt?

This brings us to the last article of the inquiry. For the *record*, we have only to refer to Josephus;‡ who expressly states it as one of the grievous oppressions which befel the Hebrews after the death of Joseph, that they were compelled to labour in building pyramids;§ and the curious memorial

* "Locus quoque, in quo conditæ sunt pyramides, ab Israëlitarum habitatione minime fuit alienus." *Perizonii Origines Aegyptiacæ*, c. 21. p. 390. *L. Bat.* 1711

† See chap. xvii. vol. II. p. 367, of these travels.

‡ "Ego certe Josepho, Israëlitarum tempore factas censenti accesserim." *Perizon. Orig. Aegypt.* c. 21. p. 387. *L. Bat.* 1711.

§ Ἰπυραμίδας τε ἀνοικοδομοῦντες ἐξέτρουχον ἡμῶν τὸ γένος. "Pyramidibus etiam

as given by the Jewish historian, is sustained by collateral evidence in the books of Moses. The principal labour of the Israelites is described in Exodus* to be a daily task of making bricks, without being allowed a requisite portion of straw for their manufacture. The mere circumstance of six hundred thousand persons being employed at the same time in making bricks, affords of itself a proof that the building for which these materials were required could be of no ordinary magnitude.† This happened, too, after the death of one of the kings of Egypt,‡ at which time, it is said, they began “to sigh by reason of their bondage.” It is therefore very probable that the pyramid at which they laboured was the sepulchre of this king: this is matter of conjecture; although it may be added, that one of the pyramids near Saccâra is built of bricks containing chopped straw.§ The fact for present attention is the record preserved by Josephus, which attributes to the Israelites the origin of certain pyramids in Egypt: and for other evidence, proving them to have existed in a period equally remote with that in which this people inhabited the country, we may refer to the testimony of Manetho, whose authority is respected by Josephus, and who, from his situation as an Egyptian priest,|| had

extruendis homines nostros adhibentes deterebant.” *Josephi Antiq. Jud.* lib. ii. c. 9. ed. *Havercampi*, tom. I. p. 97. 1726.

* Exod. v. 16.

† “Quid vero tanto temporis intervallo tot millia hominum perfecerint, non reperimus, nisi munitionem duarum vel trium urbium, quæ ab iis intra paucissimos annos facillime perfici potuit. Debuerunt etiam aliud quid maximæ molis, laboris, temporis, præstitisse, quodque conveniens esset aliquot centenis millibus hominum longissimo et continuo tempore ad opus adactis. Nihil autem majus et operosius in Ægypto, atque ejus Historia invenimus extruente pyramidum, quas ab aliis, aut alio tempore extructas minime constat.” *Perizon. Orig. Ægypt.* c. 21. p. 388. *L. Bat.* 1711.

‡ Exod. ii. 23.

§ See *Pococke's Descript. of the East*, vol. I. p. 53. *Lond.* 1743 It stands about three miles and a half of the south of the pyramids of Saccâra, near the village of *Menshieh Dashour*, and is called *Ktoubé el Menshieh*, the bricks of *Menshieh*. It is mentioned by *Herodotus* (*Euterpe*, c. 136.) Greaves, who, though an accurate writer was not always the accurate observer, after two visits made to the pyramids, and having, as he says, (*Pref. to Pyramidog.* *Lond.* 1646.) examined even the neighbouring desert, knew not the existence of this pyramid. And he urges this as a reason for not subscribing to the opinions of those modern writers (*Spondanus de Cameteriis Sacris*, lib. i. par. 1. cap. 6 *Brodaus Epigr. Græc. sis vasis*) who believed the pyramids to have been erected by the Israelites: “The sacred Scriptures,” says he, “clearly expressing the slavery of the Jews to have consisted in making brick, whereas all these pyramids consist of stone.” (*Pyramidographia*, p. 1.) Exactly after the same manner, he neglected to notice the petrified lentils described by *Strabo*; and then accounts for their disappearance, by supposing them to have been “consumed by time, or scattered by the winds!!!” or, “buried in sand. *Ibid.* p. 119.

|| Josephus says, that the care and continuance of the public records were

access to every record preserved in the sacred archives of the country. Manetho affirms, that these structures were begun by the fourth king of Egypt, during the first dynasty;* which carries their antiquity back to a period earlier than the age of Abraham.† Of this nature are the records required by the last question in the proposed inquiry, without having recourse to any of the writers of Greece or Italy. As for the traditions which refer the origin of these monuments to the age of the Israelites in Egypt, these exist not only among the Arabians, but also among the Jews and Egyptians. The author of a book entitled *Morat Alzeman*, cited by Greaves in his *Pyramidographia*,‡ speaking of the founders of the pyramids, says, “some attribute them to Joseph, some to Nimrod.” The Arabians distinguished the pyramids by the appellation of *Djebel Pharoun*, or *Pharaoh’s Mountains*;§ and there is not one of these oriental writers who does not consider them as ancient sepulchres.||

Upon these premises, thus derived from sources that are not liable to the objections urged by Pauw, being wholly independent of any notions which he supposes the Greeks to have blended with their accounts of the pyramids, the following conclusions may perhaps appear to be warranted:

1. That the Hebrews inhabited Egypt in the period to which the pyramids may be referred.
2. That the pyramids contain an existing document corresponding with the mode of interment practised by this people, and were therefore intended as sepulchres.
3. That the present state of the principal pyramid may possibly be owing to the circumstance related in their

the peculiar province of the priests. (*Vid.* lib. i. *cont. Apion.*) Manetho belonged to the college at Heliopolis, the very seat of Egyptian science. His testimony was preferred by Marsham to that of Josephus himself. However, it should be acknowledged that Perizonies, who considered the Dynasties of Manetho as fabulous, attacked Marsham upon this ground; describing him as “*absurdissima quaque Manethonis recipiendi studiosior, quam speciosus Josephi.*” *Vid.* Jac. Perizonii *Ægypt. Orig. Invest.* cap. 21. p. 384. *L. Bat.* 1711.

* “Etenim Manetho jam in dynastia i. quantum ejus regem, *Venenphen*, pyramidos erexisse tradit; ac dein, in dynastia iv. regem secundum, *Suphin*, pyramidum maximam extruxisse.” *Perizon. Ægyptiaca*, cap. 21. p. 383. *L. Bat.* 1711. This authority, admitted by Marsham, is condemned by the author from whom it is now cited.

† *Ibid.* p. 384.

‡ P. 6. *Lond.* 1646.

§ See also Egmont and Heyman’s *Travels*, vol. II. p. 85. *Lond.* 1759.

|| See the extracts from *Ibn. Abd. Athakm*, and the Arabian authors, as given by Greaves, &c. &c.

history, of the removal of Joseph's relics from the *Soros* in which they had been preserved.

4. That from the records of Jewish and Egyptian historians, as well as from the traditions of the country, we may attribute the origin of some of the pyramids to the Hebrews themselves; and may assign to others a period even more remote than the age in which this people inhabited Egypt.

In the principal point to be determined, namely, the use for which these structures were erected by the ancients, there cannot remain even the shadow of a doubt. That they were sepulchres, has been demonstrated beyond the possibility of a contradiction; and in proving this, all the best authorities have long concurred.* In their whole extent from Djiza to Saccâra, the pyramids, and all their contiguous subterranean catacombs, constituted one vast cemetery, belonging to the seat of the Memphian kings,† the various parts of which were constructed in different periods of time. Some learned writers, however, as Shaw, and the author of *Philosophical Dissertations*, on the Egyptians and Chinese, have exercised their erudition in attempting to prove that the pyramids were mythological repositories of Egyptian superstitions; and they have described the *Soros*, in direct opposition to Strabo, either as a *tomb of Osiris*,‡ or as one of those *κίβητες* *ἱερείων* in which the priests kept their sacred vestments.§ Nor, perhaps, would these conjectures have appeared so visionary, if those distinguished writers had carried the investigation somewhat further. If the connection between ancient Egyptian mythology and Jewish history had been duly traced, an evident analogy, founded upon events which have reference to the earliest annals of the Hebrews, might be made manifest. The subject, of itself sufficient to constitute a separate dissertation, would cause too much digression; although an endeavour may be made to concentrate some of its leading features within the compass of a note.*

* See the authorities and arguments stated by Perizonius, *Origines Egyptiacæ*, cap. 21. p. 393. *L. Bat.* 1711. Also Greaves's *Pyramidographia*, p. 43. *Lond.* 1646. &c. &c.

† Τάφοι τῶν βασιλέων. (*Strabon. Geo.* lib. xvii. p. 1145. *Ed. Oxon.*) In the threatenings denounced against the Israelites (*Hosea*, ch. ix. v. 6.) it is said, "MEMPHIS SHALL BURY THEM."

‡ See *Pauw on the Egypt. and Chinese*, vol. II. p. 48. *Lond.* 1795.

§ See Shaw's *Travels*, p. 471. *Lond.* 1757.

|| Perhaps, with due attention to facts collected from ancient and modern writers, the whole connection might be traced between the history of *Joseph*,

The main object at present is to prove the intention for which the pyramids were erected; and in this it is ho-

and the Egyptian mythology founded thereon. For this purpose, the reader may be referred to all that *Vossius* has written upon the subject (*vid.* lib. i. cap. 29, tom. I. p. 213. *de Theologiâ Gentili: Amst.* 1642, who considers the Egyptian APIS as a symbol of the Patriarch. He supports his opinion by authority from *Ruffinus* (*Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, lib. ii. cap. 33;) and derives evidence from *Augustin*, (*Script. Mirab.* l. i. c. 15.) to prove that the Egyptians placed an Ox near the sepulchre of *Joseph*. It appears also, from *Suidas* (voce Σάραπις,) that APIS was by some considered a symbol of JOSEPH: "Quo ut magis inclinem facit," observes *Vossius*, "quod Josephus Deuteronomii cap. penult. commate 17, bos vocetur, secundum codices Hebraeos." But if APIS were the same as JOSEPH, so must also be SERAPIS (or SARAPIS, as it was written by the Greeks) and OSIRIS; for these are but different names of the same mythological personage. "Factus est Joseph quasi rex totius Ægypti, et vocaverunt eum Apis," says *Kircher*, (*Ædip. Ægypt.* tom. I. p. 196. *Rom.* 1652;) and he gives us from *Varro* the reason why he was called SERAPIS: "Qua Arca (inquit *Varro*.) in qua positus erat, Græcè seu Ægyptiacè dicitur Σόρος, unde Σόραρις, quasi Arca Apis, deinde, unâ literâ mutata, Σεραρις dictus est." Also, according to *Strabo*, APIS was the same as OSIRIS. "Ὁς ἰσιν ('Apis) δ' αὐτὸς καὶ 'Οσῖρις (lib. xvii. p. 1144. *Ed. Oxon.*) Hence it may be inferred, that as JOSEPH, together with the names of APIS and SERAPIS, also bore that of OSIRIS, the annual mournings which took place in Egypt for the loss of *Osiris' body*, and the exhibition of an empty *Soros* upon those occasions, were ceremonies derived from the loss of *Joseph's body*, which had been carried away by the Hebrews when they left the country. *Julius Firmicus*, who flourished under the two sons of Constantine, endeavours to explain the reason (*De Error. Profan. Relig.*) why JOSEPH was called SERAPIS. In opposition to the origin assigned by *Varro*, from the name SERAPIS, it may be observed, that *Plutarch* (*De Isid. et Osir.* c. 29.) derides a notion which prevailed, maintaining that SERAPIS was no God, but a mere name for the sepulchral chest where the body of APIS was deposited: Οὐκ εἶναι θεὸν τὸν Σάραριν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἈΠΙΔΟΣ ΣΟΡΟΝ οὕτως ἀνομάζεσθαι. But things which were rejected by the Greeks, as inconsistent with their religious opinions, may come much nearer, on this account, to truth, and to our own. A very popular notion has long been entertained, concerning an extraneous idol brought to Alexandria, by one of the Ptolemies, from the coast of Pontus, which received the appellation of *Serapis* upon its arrival in Egypt. But the word *Serapis* is purely Egyptian (*Vid.* *Jablonski Panth. Ægypt.* tom. I. p. 232. *Francf.* 1750.; and there is something extremely improbable in the circumstances of the importation. That any of the Ptolemies, cooped as they were in Egypt, should insult the inhabitants of the country (*Macrobius*, *Saturnal.* l. i. c. 7.) by the introduction of a strange Divinity from the Euxine, has always worn an appearance of fable. *Jablonski* has refuted the opinion, by proving that *Serapis* was worshipped in Memphis long before the time of the Ptolemies (*Panth. Egypt.* lib. ii. c. 5 p. 233. *Franc.* 1750,) and by showing from *Eustathius* that the whole story of this Sinopic Deity was derived from *Sinopium*, near Memphis. Thus *Tacitus*, "sedem, ex qua transierit (*Serapis*) Memphin perhibent, inclutam olim, et veteris Egypti columnen." Yet *Gibbon* seems to imply (*Hist.* c. 28. vol. V. p. 90. *Lond.* 1807) that both the name and the idol were alike strangers to the priests of Egypt; and he sneers at the notion of *Vossius*, that the Patriarch *Joseph* had been adored in the country as the bull *Apis*, and the god *Serapis*. (*Ibid.* See Note 36.) The reader may consult the learned observations of *Bochart* upon this subject, (*Hierozoicon*, tom. I. l. ii. c. 34. pp. 345, 346, 347, 348.) and also of *Jablonski*, upon which *Gibbon* may have grounded his scepticism, although he has not mentioned his authors. The following passage of *Apollodorus*, as cited by *Bochart*, proves the name *Serapis* to be of ancient date in Egypt: "Apis, relictus inter Deos, SERAPIS appellatus est." Upon the identity of *Serapis* and *Joseph* many learn-

ped we may succeed. If these were the only monuments of the kind belonging to the ancient world, and we had not the evidence afforded by the *Soros* in the principal pyramid, a greater degree of difficulty might oppose the undertaking. But, in addition to the testimony offered by this remarkable relic, we are enabled, by collateral evidences derived from other countries, to establish, beyond all controversy, the truth of their sepulchral origin. It has been already shown, that, of themselves, they constitute but remaining traces of a custom common to all the nations of antiquity.* An ancient tumulus for men of princely rank seems very generally to have consisted of *three* parts; the *Soros*, the *Pile*, or *Heap*, and the *Stélé*. Of these Homer mentions two at once; as being those parts of a tumulus which were externally visible.† As the practice occasionally varied among different nations, only one of these was used to denote an ancient burying place. In Asia Minor, the *Soros*, of gigantic proportion, sometimes stood alone, without the *Pile* and the *Stélé* ‡ In Scythia, and in many northern countries, the *Pile* only appears.§ In Greece, perhaps, although no instance is decidedly known, the simple *Stélé*, without the pile, might serve to denote the grave of a deceased person || The *Pile*, or *Heap*, was gene-

ed writers are agreed. "*Sunt qui APIM et SERAPIDEM unum Numen putari, et per Serapidem JOSEPHUM intellexerint; NEC VERITATI CONTRARIA VIDETUR HÆC OPINO.*" (*Cunorus de Repub. Heb. Annot Nicolai*, c. 17. not. 14. *Thes. Antiq. Sac. Ugolini, Venet. 1745.*) Indeed, the number of authors and commentators by whom this opinion is maintained may be considered as more than a counterpoise to the objections of Bochart and of Jablonski. Tirinus, (*Annot. in Sulpit Sever.* p. 57. *Ed. Horn. L. Bat. 1654.*) in addition to the authorities above cited, mentions also Pierius and Boronius: and he further observes, "Idque patet, tum ex nomine *Serapis*, quod *Bovem*, notat; tum ex nomine *Arsaph*, quo teste Plutarcho, *Oeiris* vocabatur, levi commutatione ex *Joseph* facta: tum ex Hieroglyphicis, quibus *Oeiridem*, designabant, puta figura bovis seu vituli, notis *Lunæ* et *Solis* insigniti; item *Juvenis* imberbis cum modo et calathio in capite Quæ in *Josephum*, ejusque boves et spicas, et ætatem, et astiologię peritiā, ad amussim quadrant. Subscribunt *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Augustinus*, *A Lapide*, et *Bonfrerius*. See also *Spencer de Leg. Heb.* lib. iii. pp. 270, 271. *Beyer. Hen. VVegehorst. de vero Dei Cultu*, pag. m. 25. *edit. Kilon. 1671. Michael. Not. ad Gaffarell. Curiositates*, edit. Hamburg. &c. &c.

* "Apud majores, nobiles aut sub montibus, aut in montibus, sepeliebantur; unde natum est, ut supra cadavera aut pyramides fierent, aut ingentes collocarentur columnæ." *Servi Comment. in Virgil*

† Τὸ μὲν τε, Στήλη τε. II. II. 456. See *Greek Marbles*, p. 2. *Camb. 1800.*

‡ See the account of the sepulchres at Telmessus, in the former section Ch. viii.

§ See Part the First of these Travels, chan. xi.

|| Καὶ Στήλην ἐν αὐτῷ γενίσθαι, οἷα νεκρῶ. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* lib. v. *Oxm. 1715.* The great Column at Alexandria, called "*Pompey's Pillar*," may possibly be an example of the *Stélé*, standing alone; as may be shown in a subsequent chapter.

rally nothing more than a lofty mound of earth. More rarely, it was a magnificent pyramid. A square platform was left, in some instances, upon the tops of those pyramids, as a pedestal for the *Stélé*. This seems to have been the case upon the summit of the principal pyramid of Djiza.* Hence originated the appellation of *Hermetic Stélæ* (because Hermes had the care of the dead,) and all the Grecian Mythology connected with them.† In America, pyramids were built in this manner by the ancient inhabitants of that great continent. That those pyramids were also temples, is true; because all ancient sepulchres were objects of worship, and tombs were the origin of temples.‡ The Spaniards, when they first arrived at Mexico, found *pyramids* as *temples* there; but they were sepulchres. Gage describes one of these:§ “It was,” says he, “a square mount of earth and stone, fifty fathoms long every way, built upwards like to a pyramid of Egypt, saving that the top was not sharp, but plain and flat, and ten fathoms square. Upon the west side were steps up to the top.” By the account Gemelli gives|| of the Mexican pyramids at *Tcotiguacan* (signifying, in the language of the country, a *Place of Gods*, or of *Adoration*,) they were erected, like the Egyptian pyramids, for sepulchres. The first he saw was a pyramid of the *Moon*, about one hundred and fifty feet in height. “It was made,” he says, “of earth, in steps, like the pyramids of Egypt;” and on the top of it was a great stone idol of the *Moon*. The pyramid of the *Sun* was about forty feet higher, and upon the top of it a vast statue of the *sun*: And as these pyramids were erected for devotion, so were they for *sepulchres*. The same author further informs us, that within the pyramid of the moon were vaults *where their kings were buried*, for which reason the road to them is called *MICAOTLI*, that is to say, *the way of the dead*. Precisely, too, after the

* Vansleb mentions marks of this kind, which he supposes were intended for a Colossus. “On remarque encore les enfoncures qui y sont, lesquelles servoient pour tenir ferme la base du Colosse qui y estoit posé.” *Relation d’Egypte*, p. 141. Paris, 1677. It was, in all probability, a *Stélé*; but we did not perceive any such appearance; neither did Pococke, as he confesses, p. 43, vol. i. *Descript. of the East* Lond. 1743.

† See the former Section of Part II. of these Travels, p. 193. A dog is often represented upon the sepulchral *Stélæ*, as a type of the Egyptian Mercury. This Deity appears upon Egyptian monuments, represented by a human figure with a dog’s head.

‡ See Part I. of these Travels, chap. xvii. p. 266.

§ Survey of the West Indies, ch. xii. Lond. 1677.

|| Travels, lib. ii, c. 8. Part 6.

manner in which the pyramids of Egypt are surrounded by sepulchres of a more diminutive form, the Mexican pyramids have, as Gemelli tells us, "about them, several little artificial mounts, supposed to be burying places of lords." Another instance of a similar nature, and more remarkable for the similitude it bears to the principal pyramid of Egypt, was found in the same country, about thirty years ago, by some hunters. This is the great pyramid of *Papantla*, mentioned by Humboldt: for, in this, *mortar may be discerned in the interstices between the stones*. It is an edifice of very high antiquity, and was always an object of veneration among the Mexicans. Humboldt says "they concealed this monument for centuries, from the Spaniards;" and that it was discovered accidentally, in the manner that has been mentioned.*



CHAP. VI.

GRAND CAIRO TO ROSETTA.

Monastery of the Propagandists—Marriage Procession—Visit to the Reis Effendi—First Intelligence concerning the Alexandrian Soros—Preparation for Departure—Arrival of the Covering for the Caaba at Mecca—Escape of four Ladies—Passage down the Nile—Chemical Analysis of the Water and Mud of the River—Remains of the City of SAIS—Antiquities—Bronze Relics—Aratriliform Sceptre of the Priests and Kings of Egypt—Hieroglyphic Tablet—Enumeration of the Archetypes—Curious Torso of an ancient Statue—Triple Hierogram with the Symbol of the Cross—its meaning explained—Mahallet Abouali—Berinbal—Ovens for hatching Chickens—Tombs at Massora Shibrecki—Birds—Arrival at Rosetta—Mr. Hammer sails for England—State of Rosetta at this season of the year.

AFTER our return to Cairo, we visited the library of the Propaganda society, in a monastery belonging to the missionaries, and found a collection of books as little worth no-

* Travels in New Spain, vol. II. p. 259.

tice as that of the Franciscans at Jerusalem. It consisted wholly of obscure writings on points of faith, the volumes being mixed together in a confused manner. From their appearance, it was evident they had not been opened by their present possessors. We were shown some drawings of the *Costumi* of Cairo, which had been made by one of the monks, very ill done, but worth seeing, as they contained a representation of every thing remarkable in the manner of the inhabitants of this city. The church belonging to the convent is kept in very neat order. The Copts have a place allowed them for baptism, near to the altar. The Coptic language is now preserved only in their manuscripts. We purchased a folio manuscript copy of the Gospels, finely written, which had the Arabic on one side, and the Coptic on the other. In the Coptic service of the church, the prayers are read in Arabic, and the gospels in Coptic. Browne, who has written the best account of Cairo, computes the number of its mosques at more than three hundred, and the total population of the city as equal to three hundred thousand souls.*

In our road to the English head-quarters, from the convent of the *Propagandists*, we met a marriage procession. First came a person bearing a box, looking like the kind of show which is carried about the streets of London, covered with gilding and ornaments. The use of this we could not learn. Next followed two boys, superbly dressed, and mounted on very fine horses richly caparisoned. Two grooms were in attendance upon each of these horses. Then followed a great number of men, on foot. After these came the bride, beneath a canopy supported by four men, and preceded by a female attendant, who, as she walked, continued to fan her with one of the large semicircular fans of the country, made of differently coloured feathers. The bride was entirely covered by a veil of scarlet crape, spangled from head to foot; she was supported on each side by a female veiled, according to the common costume of the country. Then followed a band of musicians, playing upon hautboys and tambours. After the musicians, came a party of almehs, screaming the *Alleluia*, as before described.

* *Travels in Africa*, p. 71. *Lond.* 1799. The reader, wishing for a further statistical detail, may be referred to the volume published by this faithful, intelligent, and most enterprising traveller.

The procession closed with a concourse of people of all descriptions.

On Monday, August the thirty-first, we were on a visit to the *Reis Effendi*, a minister of the Turkish government, holding a situation which answers to the office of our secretary of state. Two of the principal officers in the Turkish army were sitting with him. The garden belonging to this house was that in which Kleber was assassinated. While we were conversing with the *Reis*, a Tartar came into the room, saying, in the Turkish language, "Alexandria is taken!" Mr. Hammer, who was with us, interpreted what the Tartar had said. To our great amazement, these Turkish officers received this important intelligence in total silence, without the slightest change of countenance, or even a look towards each other. Mr. Hammer said, he believed they did not wish the people of Caïro to know that the English were the captors. After a few minutes thus passed in silence and gravity, they began to whisper to each other, and then wrote with a reed the name of the Tartar who brought the news. Afterwards, addressing us, the *Reis* asked if we had understood what the Tartar said. We answered in the affirmative. "I do not," said he, "place much faith in the news; but I will send to the vizier, and inquire if he has received any despatches." Having done this, an answer came, stating that Alexandria was not taken, but that an armistice had taken place, and that the French were in treaty for the surrender of the city. With this welcome information we took our leave, and determined instantly to hasten to the British camp, and to make lord Hutchinson acquainted with some particulars that had come to our knowledge respecting the antiquities collected by the French in Egypt, all of which we knew to be deposited in Alexandria.

Previous to our departure, it was necessary to collect as much additional information as possible, and especially with regard to the *Rosetta Tablet*;* as there was no doubt but every artifice would be used to prevent our commander-in-chief from becoming acquainted with the place of its concealment. A report had already been industriously circulated, that this stone had been sent to France. We, there-

* See the account given of the discovery by *Bouchard*, part II. of these travels, sect. I. chap. X. p. 184. note (†).

fore, waited upon the only person capable of furthering our views in this respect, and whose name it is no longer necessary to conceal.* This person was no other than the intelligent Carlo Rosetti, whose inquisitive mind and situation in the country had enabled him to become acquainted with every thing belonging to the French army. In the course of a conversation with him on the subject of the Rosetta Stone, which he maintained to be still in Alexandria, he informed the author, that something even of a more precious nature was contained among the French plunder; that they had removed, by force, a relic, long held in veneration among the inhabitants of Alexandria, after every intreaty had failed for that effect; and that they entertained considerable apprehension lest any intelligence concerning it should reach the English army: that Menou, and some other of his officers, had used every precaution to prevent the people of Alexandria from divulging the place of its concealment, before it could be conveyed beyond the reach of our forces.

Signior Rosetti's remote situation, with regard to Alexandria, prevented his giving a more definite history of this monument, or the place where it originally stood. It was, he said, of one entire piece of stone, of an astonishing size, and of a beautiful green colour; the French had taken it from some mosque, where it was venerated by the Arabs: and he ended by giving us a letter addressed to one of the principal merchants in Alexandria, who, upon our arrival in that city, would communicate any other information we might require upon this subject.

The following day was passed in taking leave of our friends, and in preparation for our departure. We had another audience of the vizier, who made several inquiries about the pyramids, and very kindly asked if there were any thing else in Caïro, or its neighbourhood, which we might wish to see. He then subjoined a few pertinent questions concerning the embalmed birds found at Saccâra; requesting at the same time that we would send him one. This very rare curiosity in a Turk surprised us; for, in general, nothing can exceed either their ignorance or their indifference, as to literary intelligence. We sent him one of the jars which contained the Ibis, unopened: and another with the lid removed, and the interior visible, that he might

* See "*Tomb of Alexander*," p. 31.

examine its contents, if he wished to preserve the other vessel as it was found. When we rose to take leave, the attendants presented each of us with an embroidered handkerchief, according to the usual custom in the east.

This day the tapestry destined for the covering of the Kaaba at Mecca arrived from Constantinople, by the way of Syria. We were desirous of seeing the entry into Cairo of the cavalcade by which it is accompanied, but found it to be impossible, from the extreme danger attending it. Mr. Hammer, although in the Arabian dress, dared not to venture into the fanatical and furious mob that had assembled upon the outside of the city. The people ran from every house and corner of Cairo, to greet its coming; and happy was the Mahometan who could get near enough to kiss a part of the trappings, or even the tail of the camel by which it was carried. After parading it through the principal streets, it was taken to the citadel, to be kept until the great caravan of pilgrims began its march to Mecca. Every house in Cairo, upon this occasion, displayed the most gaudy hangings; but the principal colours were blue, scarlet, crimson, and yellow. The whole city was one scene of festivity. In several houses we saw a figure made up of wool or cotton, to resemble a sheep, but could not learn for what purpose it was so placed.

On Wednesday, September the second, at twelve o'clock, we set out from Cairo, passing along the canal in our djerme, and having on board four ladies, recommended to us for protection by the *Propaganda Missionaries*. Mr. Hammer was also on board, and rendered us great service in this dangerous undertaking, by being in his Oriental habit. We placed the women in our cabin, concealed by lattice-work and boughs, Mr. Hammer and the rest of our party standing before the entrance. The banks of the canal were covered by *Galcongies* and Turkish troops, carousing, and discharging their carabines. Had they only suspected the presence of females in our boat, the consequences would have been dangerous to us: but the lives of these ladies depended upon the success of the plan adopted for their escape, many women being daily sacrificed by the Turks, in consequence of having been married to, or having lived with, Frenchmen. In order to avoid being searched, or given rise to suspicion, we had chosen the most public time of the day for passing the canal. Our Arab boatmen had promised their assist-

ance, and they were very faithful. When we entered the boat, we believed, from their appearance, that our passengers were old women. They sat muffled up, and completely concealed by coarse and thick veils, which covered not only their faces but their persons. When we had cleared the canal, and reached the open channel of the river, they took off their veils, and we were surprised to find that they were all young. One of them was very beautiful; she had been married about four years before; but her husband dying of the plague, during the last summer, had left her a widow. They accompanied us as far as Bulac, when meeting with two of the Propagandists, who had assisted their escape from Cairo, and being unable, from the small size of our djerm, to offer them suitable means of conveyance for their passage to Rosetta, we engaged the cabin of a large barge preparing to descend the Nile, where, secluded from the observation of the other passengers, they might have secure and convenient accommodation.

Upon our arrival at Bulac, we met lord Hutchinson's brother upon the quay, and two other English officers, who had just arrived with despatches for the grand vizier, containing news of the capitulation then pending between our commander-in-chief and general Menou, for the surrender of Alexandria. As they were unable to speak the language of the country, we sent our interpreter to hire a party of Arabs to conduct them to the English head-quarters in Cairo.

At six o'clock P. M. we embarked again, and, having lowered the sails, committed our djerm to the rapidity of the river. Its course might rather be described as a torrent than as a current. Although a strong contrary wind prevailed during the whole of our voyage down the Nile, we descended with even greater rapidity than we had sailed in coming from Rosetta. The water in the Nilometer of Rhouda had risen nine feet during the month of August: at this time it wanted only two inches of elevation to cover entirely the whole of the Corinthian column on which the height of the inundation is measured, and it was expected to rise yet for twenty days. The great heats had evidently subsided; although the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, this day at noon, stood at ninety degrees.

As we left Bulac, we had one of the finest prospects in the world, presented by the wide surface of the Nile crowded

with vessels, the whole city of Cairo, the busy throng of shipping at the quay, the citadel and heights of Mokalam, the distant Saïd, the pyramids of Djiza and Saccára, the obelisk of Heliopolis, and the tombs of the sultans; all these were in view at the same time; the greater objects being tinged with the most brilliant effect of light it is possible to conceive; while the noise of the waters, the shouts of the boatmen, and the moving picture everywhere offered by the Nile, gave a cheerful contrast to the stillness of the desert, and the steadfast majesty of monuments, beautifully described by a classic bard as "looking tranquillity." We continued our progress during the evening and the whole of the night. The next morning, September the third, we found ourselves at *Teranê*, and went on shore to procure a little milk for our breakfast. Here we filled two large earthen jars with Nile water; and having rendered them air-tight, we luted them carefully with the mud of the Nile: then placing them in wooden cases, we filled all the vacant spaces with the same substance. The mud soon became dry, and very hard; thus preserving the jars from the danger of being broken by any shock which the cases containing them might afterwards sustain; and also, by the total exclusion of atmospheric air, preventing any change from taking place in the chemical constituents of the water. In this state they were sent, one to the university of Cambridge, and another to professor Jacquin, at Vienna. It is not yet known what chemical union takes place in Nile water, when the addition of pounded almonds causes it to precipitate the substances it holds in a state of imperfect solution: this is the common mode adopted in Egypt for clarifying the water. The only result we have been able to obtain, from the most careful chemical analysis of the Nile water, proves it to contain the carbonates of magnesia, lime, and iron; the muriate of soda: and a small portion of silex and alumine. But it is one of the purest waters known; remarkable for its easy digestion by the stomach, and for its salutary qualities in all the uses to which it is applied.* The mud, or slime, left by this water is found to consist principally of alumine in a state of great purity: it contains nearly half its weight of this sub-

* "L'eau du Nil jouit d'une grande pureté: cette qualité la rend bien précieuse, non seulement pour la préparation des alimens, mais encore pour les arts chimiques, où elle peut remplacer l'eau de pluie dont ce pays est privé et l'eau distillée." *La Décade Egyptienne*, tom. I. p. 266. *Au Kaire, An. 7*

stance; the rest is carbonate of lime, water, carbon, iron oxide, silex, and carbonate of magnesia. The persons concerned in agriculture, in Egypt, regard it as a sufficient manure, without any addition of dung;* this they reserve for other purposes, and principally for fuel.

Having received information, from some Bedouin Arabs inhabiting the Delta, of ruins on the spot marked by D'Anville as the situation of the ancient city of Saïs, we determined to visit them. They are near to a village now called *Sé'l Hajar* or *Sé el Hajar* † this name literally translated, signifies "*The ancient Saïs.*" These ruins were not observed by the French during their residence in Egypt: they seem to have been ignorant even of their existence.‡ The first notice of them by Europeans occurs in the Travels of Egmont and Heyman;§ and Mr. Bryant refers to the account given by those Dutchmen, in his observations upon the locality of Zoan.|| The situation of *Sé'l Hajar* is not laid down in any modern map; but our boatmen were acquainted with it, and they informed us that we should not reach it before midnight. We therefore ordered them to anchor as soon as they came near to the village, and to remain there until day-light. The velocity with which we proceeded against a violent north-west wind quite astonished us. Our boat lay upon the water with her broadside to the current, and was generally held in this position by the crew; but sometimes she was suffered to float as the stream carried her, turning about in all possible directions.

The next morning, Friday, September the fourth, being told by our boatmen that we were close in with *Sé'l Hajar*, we rose a little before day-light, to take a hasty breakfast, and set out for the ruins. As soon as the dawn ap-

* "Agri ita pingue sunt, ut stercoratione non egeant." (*Prosper Alpinus.*) *Voy. Décade Egypte.* tom. I. p. 219.

† Mr. Hamilton, perhaps more judiciously, writes the name of this place *Sâ-el-Haggar*. (*See Ægyptiaca*, p. 360. *Lond.* 1809.) It has been here written as nearly as possible to the manner in which the name is pronounced upon the spot. But the Arabs make one word of it; as *selhajar*; and some of them seemed to call it *Silhajar*. Egmont and Heyman (vol. II. p. 113. *Lond.* 1759.) wrote it *sa-el Hajar*.

‡ See Denon's account of the observations made by the French in Upper and Lower Egypt.

§ Travels through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, &c. Vol. II. p. 111. *Lond.* 1750.

|| See Observations relating to various Parts of Ancient History, by Jacob Bryant, p. 12. *Camb.* 1767.

peared, we landed upon the eastern side of the river a little to the south of Rachmanie; near the place where a canal, passing across the Delta, joins the Pelusiæ with the Canopic branch of the Nile. About half a mile from the shore we came to the village of *Sé'l Hajar*, and found the Arab peasants already at their work. They were employed in sifting soil to lay upon their corn land, among evident remains of ancient buildings. The present village of *Sé'l Hajar* seems to be situated in the suburban district of the ancient city; for, as we proceeded hence, in an eastern direction, we soon discerned its vestiges. Irregular heaps, containing ruined foundations which had defied the labours of the peasants, appeared between the village, and some more considerable remains farther toward the north-east. The earth was covered with fragments of ancient *terra cotta*, which the labourers had cast out of their sieves. At the distance of about three furlongs we came to an immense quadrangular enclosure, nearly a mile wide, formed by high walls, or rather mounds of earth facing the four points of the compass, and placed at right angles to each other, so as to surround a spacious area. In the centre of this was another conical heap, supporting the ruins of some building, whose original form cannot now be ascertained. The ramparts of this enclosure are indeed so lofty, as to be visible from the river; although at this distance the irregularity of their appearance might cause a person, ignorant of their real nature, to mistake them for natural eminences.* In their present appearance, they seem to correspond with the account given of a similar inclosure at *San*, or *TANIS*, by a

* It may be proper to mention, that the learned Jacob Bryant, in his dissertation upon the situation of *ZOAN*, distinguishes this city from *Tanis*, and confounds it with *HELIOPOLIS*: (See *Observations relating to various Parts of Ancient History*, p. 301. *Camb.* 1767.) Until M. Larcher shall have written his promised dissertation upon the two cities which bore the name of *Heliopolis*, and better evidence be given for the notion of a *Pseudo-Heliopolis* upon the Arabian side of the Nile, the following localities will be here assigned for the three cities, *Sais*, *Tanis*, and *Heliopolis*:—for the first, *Sé'l Hajar*; for the second, *San*; for the third, *Matarieh*. M. Larcher's doubts upon this subject are so closely allied to the following remarks made by Bryant, that it is impossible to believe they had not a common origin: indeed, the French writer seems almost to have literally translated Bryant's words. "There were two cities named Heliopolis; OF WHICH I SHALL HAVE A GREAT DEAL TO SAY HEREAFTER. * * * * * This is a circumstance that has escaped the notice, not only of all the moderns, but of most of the ancients." (See *Bryant, Observat. &c.* p. 82. *Note 2. Camb.* 1767.) "Il y avoit deux villes," says Larcher, "de ce nom" (*Heliopolis*). * * * * *

friend of our party, who visited the pyramids with us, and who was engaged in a voyage down the Nile at the same time we were employed among the Ruins of Saïs.* The water of the river, in consequence of the inundation, had obtained access to this enclosure, so as to form a small lake around the conical heap of ruins which stood in the middle of the area. Perhaps it was thus admitted in ancient times; as the vast rampart of the enclosure, both in its bulk and elevation, render it well calculated to contain water. The description given by Herodotus of a *sepulchre*† at Saïs is so applicable to the general appearance of this place, that perhaps the evidence it affords may be deemed almost conclusive as to the locality of the city. He says it stood within the *sacred enclosure*, behind the temple of Minerva; mentioning also a *shrine*,‡ in which were obelisks; and near those obelisks a *lake*, flanked with stone, equal in size to the *Lake Trochois* at Delos. But the form of the lake, according to him, was circular. *Nocturnal solemnities* were exhibited upon it, according to a custom still kept up at Grand Cairo, at the overflowing of the Nile. The solemnities of Minerva at Saïs were reckoned to hold the third rank in importance among all the festivals of Egypt.§ It was the metropolis of Lower Egypt;|| and its inhabitants were originally an Athenian colony. Egmont and Heyman found

Ceci auroit besoin d'être appuyé de preuves, mais comme cela exigeroit une dissertation fort longue, JE LE FERAI PROBABLEMENT DANS UNE MEMOIRE A PART. *Table Géographique de l'Histoire d'Hérodote*, pp. 171, 172. Paris, 1786.

* William Hamilton, Esq. F. A. S. one of his majesty's under-secretaries of state, author of "*Remarks on several Parts of Turkey*," of which only *Part the First*, under the title of *Ægyptiaca*, has yet appeared. It is to be hoped that Mr. Hamilton's other important avocations will not prevent the continuation of this valuable work. For his account of the situation of *San*, and the present appearance of its ruins, see *Ægyptiaca*, p. 382. *Lond.* 1809. A map of their topography, and a plan of the ruins, as they were discovered by the French, are given in plate xvii. of Denon's large work. In the same plate may be seen also a plan of an enclosure and ruins near *Beibeth*, which exactly represents the present appearance of the enclosure at Saïs.

† Herodot. *Euterpe*, c. 170. Herodotus says he was not permitted to name the person to whom this sepulchre belonged.

‡ *Τίμνος*. *Euterpe*, c. 170.

§ Herodot. *ibid.* c. 169. The principal solemnities were held at *Bubastus*, in honour of *Diana*. Those of *Busiris*, in honour of *Isis*, held the second rank. Minerva was worshipped at Saïs under the name of *Neith*, according to Plato and Plutarch.

|| *Καὶ ἡ Σαῖς μητρόπολις τῆς κάτω χώρας*. *Strabon. Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 1137. ed. Oxon.*

here a very curious inscription* in honour of **MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS**, ITS **BENEFACTOR**, certain of whose titles are given :†

**ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ
ΜΑΡΚΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΑΡΜΗΝΙΑΚΟΝΜΗΔΙΚΟΝ
ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ
ΗΠΟΛΙΣΤΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ**

They saw also the colossal statue of a female, with hieroglyphics; the head of which had been broken off and removed to Cairo. Fourteen camel-loads of treasure were said to have been found among the ruins. Our inquiry after antiquities was, however, for a long time unsuccessful; and we began to despair of carrying from Saïs any thing belonging to the ancient city, except our description of the place, and a slight sketch of the enclosure, as seen from the river. The French had so often stripped and terrified the inhabitants of other parts of the Delta, that, although Saïs had hitherto escaped their visitation, the mere coming of strangers filled the Arabs with distrust and alarm. However,

* Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. II. p. 112. Lond. 1759.

† As this inscription is the only one which has been found by the moderns at Saïs, in any legible characters; and is, moreover, materially connected with the history of the city; and as the work which contains it is now become rare; the author hopes its repetition here will not be deemed superfluous.—Another inscription, of much greater celebrity, is preserved by Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir.* c. 9.) as it existed upon the pedestal of Minerva's statue at Saïs. Kircher has attempted to show the manner in which it was engraven. It was, in all probability, written in the Sacred characters; but, if it were a Greek inscription, it might, from its antiquity, and the number of the letters, have stood in the following order:

**ΕΓΩΕΙΜΙΠΑΝΤΟΓΕΓ
ΟΝΟΣΚΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΕΣΟ
ΜΕΝΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΝΕΜΟΝ
ΠΕΠΛΟΝΟΥΔΕΙΣΠΩΘ
ΝΗΤΟΣΑΠΕΚΑΛΥΨΕΝ**

the sight of a few newly-coined *para*hs presently subdued their apprehensions, and we were surrounded by men, women, and children, bringing, as at *Saccára*, a number of curious antiquities. Among these were various fragments of ancient sculpture, formed of *dark gray granite*, of *hornblende porphyry*,* and of the sort of *trap* which Winkelman† and others‡ have called *green basaltes*. This last substance has been described as one of the hardest materials of ancient art: it is certainly one of the most durable, for the works executed in it retain their original polish as perfect as when they issued from the hands of the sculptor. We procured also a number of bronze relics. From the state of decomposition in which these appeared, as well as from the circumstances of their form, they seemed to be of high antiquity. The bronze itself has since been analyzed, and is found to consist of copper and tin; a compound common to almost all the brazen works of the ancients. We bought of the peasants a bronze tripod, originally intended for a lamp; also a small bronze bust of AMMON, with the remarkable appendage of *wings*, and a *lion's paw* for its pedestal. Perhaps it was originally an ancient weight. Its very great antiquity may be determined by the shape of the *wings*, which are curved upwards from the back of the head. This peculiarity is found only in the works of artists belonging to the earliest ages, as we learn from the sculpture and coinage of Greece, particularly of Corinth. They brought also a bronze image of ORUS, formerly worn as an amulet, together with a number of *Lares* and other amulets, similar to those already described in the account of the antiquities found at *Saccára*. One of the former in shape of a mummy, deserves more particular notice. The substance of it is porcelain, resembling the sort of earthenware called *Delft*: and it offers, perhaps, the most ancient specimen of the art in the world. The interior exhibits a pale baked clay, and the exterior is covered with a highly vitrified varnish. The

* This substance is the *Ner' e bianco* of the Italian lapidaries (See *Ferber's Trav. in Italy, Lond. 1776.*) It consists of white opaque crystals of feldspar, which owe their colour to decomposition, imbedded in black hornblende. The word *Porphyry* may now be used to denote any compound mineral containing crystals of feldspar. Thus we have, *Hornblende Porphyry, Pitchstone Porphyry, Serpentine Porphyry, &c. &c.*

† *Ceuvres de Winkelman*, tom. I. p. 168. *Paris, An 2 de la République.*

‡ "*Basaltes Orientalis viridis.*" (*Ferber, supra, p. 233.*) "Extremely hard, homogeneous, and compact, without *ubi* crystallizations."

lower part of the figure has been broken off near the feet; but all the upper part is entire. It has a long narrow beard, hanging from the extremity of the chin; and below the breast are five lines of a hieroglyphical inscription. The hands are crossed upon the breast; sustaining against either shoulder such perfect models of the symbol which Kircher has denominated *Hieralpha*, that it is impossible we can remain any longer in doubt respecting its real signification. The subject has been before alluded to;* but something may yet be added for its illustration; for, in fact, it is here rendered more evident that an ancient *plough* was the archetype of an *Egyptian character*, common in hieroglyphic writing. Upon this figure the entire model of the instrument is complete; and even the twisted cordage, binding the ploughshare to the handle, is distinctly represented.† But, in order to remove all remaining doubt concerning this symbol, we perceive in the left hand of the figure a stouter cord, from which is suspended a *harrow* hanging behind the left shoulder. We see clearly, therefore, the kind of instrument mentioned by Diodorus,‡ who says the priests and kings of Egypt bore a sceptre in the form of a *plough*. An instrument of this kind was said to be in use among the Celtic tribes.§ The inhabitants of St. Kilda, in the Hebrides, use it as a sort of *spade*, or *hand-plough*. But in the north of Sweden and Finland, a different race of men use a *plough* of the same form, upon a large scale: it is there drawn by cattle; and it is further distinguished by having a *double*, instead of a *single* plough-share. Linnæus first observed this very ancient model of the plough, during his travels in his native country; and a representation of the Finland plough has been here introduced, as it was copied from one of his drawings.‡ This curious relic, therefore, preserves a model of one of the most ancient instruments of agriculture known in the world;|| the primeval plough of

* See chap. IV. pp 74, 75.

† In the beautiful designs by *Roncagli*, of the *OBELISUS CAMPENSIS*, engraved by *Antonini*, for *Zoega's* work "*De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum*," published at Rome in 1797, the delineation of this symbol, as a *plough*, is so distinct, that even the rings attached to the cordage are visible.

‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. iv.

§ See p. 74, of this volume.

|| Osiris is said to have constructed his own plough. Tibullus (lib i. *elog.* 7.) makes him the first husbandman. There were two methods of using the very simple instrument here represented; one being the more ancient, but

Egypt, and of the eastern world; held in veneration from the earliest ages, and among all nations; considered as a sacred symbol; an emblem of power and dignity; a sceptre fit for kings, and even gods, to wear;* a type of nature's bounty, and of peace on earth.† To this veneration of the plough may be referred all the mysteries of Ceres, and many of the most sacred solemnities, the rites, and the festivals, of Egypt and of Greece. Such is the explanation of Kircher's *Hieralpha*, in a *symbolical* view. That, as an *archetype*, it subsequently gave birth to an *alphabetical sign*, which was introduced among the characters used in Egyptian writing, is very probable; for a gradual change from the pictured forms of visible objects to written types, is manifest to any one who will give himself the trouble to collect and to compare the various modifications which the hieroglyphics have sustained.‡

Having by this time gained the confidence and good-will of the Arabs, we might have extended our researches by ma-

the shape of the plough remaining the same; which was that of an *Alpha*, with one side shorter than the other. As a *hand plough*, the vertex was capped with brass or iron, which the husbandman forced into the ground with his foot. It was then held in this position, and in this manner it is now used by the natives of St. Kilda. When used as a *draft plough*, which must have been suggested by the improvement of a later age, the shorter *limb* of the Alpha was tipped with metal, and it was then held in this position, as it is now used by the inhabitants of Ostro-Bothnia. The *hand plough* was of course the ancient sceptre; not only on account of its antiquity, but as being the only *portable* instrument.

* "In ancient times, the *sacred plough* employ'd

"The kings, and awful fathers of mankind."

Thompson.

† "And they shall beat their swords into plough-shares." *Isaiah* ii. 4.

‡ Mr. Hamilton's observations upon the rolls of papyrus which are found in the mummies of the Thebaïd confirm this opinion in a remarkable manner.—"Of the four," says he, "which I brought to England, one is in the British Museum; another in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries: the other two are but fragments; one of them written in the common Egyptian character, that of the other approaching much more to the hieroglyphical mode of writing.

"This circumstance had first induced me to consider, in a memoir submitted to the Society of Antiquaries, the vulgar character, or *ὑπόγραφος χαρακτήρ*, of ancient Egypt, as *having derived its origin from the picture writing of earlier ages*: and I am further inclined to that opinion by the observation of many peculiarities in which they still resemble; these resemblances becoming more and more distant, in proportion to the remoteness of the period of such writings from the original institution of their hieroglyphical archetype. In some rolls of papyrus, almost every letter bears a faint resemblance to some visible object, as an eye, bird, serpent, knife, &c.; whereas in others it is very difficult to trace it: and at the date of the inscription on the Rosetta Stone, the copy seems so much to have degenerated from the original, as to leave no means whatever of forming a comparison between the two: and we know that there are instances of both characters being applied to the same use; some few rolls of papyrus having already been published, written in what is called the Sacred Character." See *Hamilton's Ægyptiaci*, p. 407. Lond. 1809.

king an excavation within the ancient enclosure, if our time had not been limited. They told us, that it was their frequent practice, when they dug up stones with hieroglyphic figures, to bury them again. And were this not true, it is very improbable that all the colossal works which once adorned the city of Saïs have been removed or destroyed. From the account given of them by Herodotus, we may conclude that subsequent generations were unable to carry off such stupendous masses of stone, for nothing less than gunpowder would have been equal to their demolition. Amasis constructed at Saïs a *propylaum* in honour of Minerva, which in magnitude and grandeur surpassed every thing before seen, of such enormous size were the stones employed in the building and in its foundation. Herodotus, enumerating the decorations given by Amasis to this edifice, mentions colossal statues of prodigious magnitude, under the appellation of *Androsphinges*.* A statue of this kind was discovered soon after we left Egypt.† But the most surprising work at Saïs was a *monolithical* shrine,‡ brought from Upper Egypt; in the conveyance of which from Elephantine, two thousand persons were employed, during three years.§ A celebrated colossus, given by Amasis to the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, had also its duplicate at Saïs, of the same size, and in the same attitude.|| Within the *sacred enclosure* were buried the sovereigns of the Saïtic dynasty;** and it may be supposed that the ransacking of such a cemetery would lead to the discovery of many curious antiquities, and even give probability to the narrative related by the inhabitants of *Sel Hajar* to Egmont and Heyman,†† concerning the camel-loads of treasure which were found upon the spot. Our next inquiry was directed towards the mosque; suspecting that, in the materials employed for this building, something more might

* Τοῦτο δὲ, κολοσσούς μεγάλους καὶ ἈΝΔΡΟΣΦΙΝΓΕΑΣ περιμήκτους ἀνίστανται. "Quinetian ingentes colossos, et immanes ANDROSPHINGAS, ibidem posuit." Herodot. *Euterpe*, c. 175. Ed. Galei.

† See Hamilton's *Ægyptiaca*, p. 382. Lond. 1809.

‡ Count Caylus wrote a dissertation upon this extraordinary structure. *Voy. Mém. de l'Académie*, &c. tom. xxxi. Hist. p. 23.

§ Herodot. *Euterpe*, c. 175.

|| Ibid. c. 176. The colossal hand of granite, which is now in the British Museum, was found by the French upon the site of ancient Memphis, between Djiza and Saccâra, and believed by them to have belonged to one of the statues mentioned by Herodotus, as being near the temple of Vulcan.

** Herodot. ibid. c. 169. For an account of this dynasty, see Kircher, *Ædip. Ægypt.* tom. i. c. 10. p. 97. Rom. 1652.

†† See Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. II. p. 112. Lond. 1759.

come to light: After a slight hesitation, they also granted us permission to carry on our researches here, and admitted us to view the interior of the structure. The fragments of some ancient columns appeared in the walls; and in the steps, before the entrance, we noticed a large slab of polished *Syenite*. Having with some difficulty extricated and turned the stone, we found it to be the base or pedestal of one of those upright statues which seem to correspond with the notion entertained of the *Androsphinxes* mentioned by Herodotus; although it does not answer in its size to the proportion necessary for the colossal figures alluded to by the historian. It is now in the vestibule of the University Library at Cambridge.* One foot only belonging to the statue now remains upon this pedestal. What renders it peculiarly interesting, is, that it exhibits, among the characters of an hieroglyphic tablet, which is quite entire, a perfect representation of the *Ibis*. The other signs are also such accurate figures of visible objects, that almost all their archetypes may be enumerated: either by comparing them with things found among barbarous nations; or with natural phenomena; or with existing antiquities; or by explaining the ideas they are intended to convey, according to facts derived from the study of antiquities in general. For the better information of the reader, the following observations are here inserted.

No. 1. THE segment of a circle, (thus placed,) is believed, by almost all writers upon the subject of Egyptian hieroglyphics, to signify the *Lower Hemisphere*. May it not rather denote a period of time? Sometimes a small orb is placed within it.

2. An Egyptian *Sistrum*, with four *chords*, or *bars*, as described by Plutarch, (*De Isid. et Osir.* c. 63.) the sound of which was believed to avert and drive away *Typhon*. Plutarch has given a particular account of this instrument.

————— " Quid nunc *Aegyptia* prosunt
Sistra 20 —————

3. Two *battle-axes*, fashioned like weapons brought from the south seas, with stone blades, fastened to wooden handles.

4. The *Scarabæan ball*;—among the Egyptians, a type of the sun. See Kircher, *Œdip. Egypt. &c.*

* See "Greek Marbles," No. II. p. 3. Camb. 1809.

- No. 5. Perhaps an ancient *auger*, used in boring stones for lapidary inscriptions, &c.
6. An eagle, as seen on medals of the Ptolemies.
7. The *testudo*, or two-stringed lyre; the *Φόβη* of Homer.
8. Another musical instrument.
9. A supposed type of the *Upper Hemisphere*, as contrasted with No. 1.
10. The *Sacred Enclosure* of Saïs, and cemetery of their kings. See *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, &c.
11. A cumbent *sceptre*, or war instrument.
12. *Testudo*, and battle-axe.
13. The appearance of a line, enclosing some of the hieroglyphic characters, which are thereby separated from the rest, may possibly be nothing more than a *parenthetical* mark. These are common on the obelisk of Heliopolis. The characters so included represent the *Scarabæan ball*, as at No. 4, and *two vessels of Terra Cotta*, with forms often observed among ancient vases of earthen-ware.
14. Represents the same instrument as at No. 2. and a *copper knife-blade*, like those which are found in the catacombs of *Saccára*, and other sepulchres of Egypt.
15. Same as No. 4.
16. A *Fillet*, seen upon representations of APIS; with the square *Soros*, or chest, in which his remains were deposited.
17. An owl.
18. *Forceps*, as found in Greek sepulchres; used to fasten garments.
19. Same as No. 1.
20. The horns of APIS. ("*Et comes in pompâ Corniger Apis erat.*") Such was the symbol of Power and Divinity over all the eastern world. "*And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings.*" Rev. xvii. 12. See also *Psalms* xviii. 12. lxxv. 10. *Dan.* vii. 24; &c. &c.
21. *Axes* for beheading victims. Instruments of the same form were used in beheading cattle during the public festivals of Venice; particularly during the Carnival.
22. Entrances to the *Adyta Ægyptiorum*. (See *Kircher*, tom. I. p. 393. *Rom.* 1652.) "*And he brought me*

to the door of the court : and when I looked, behold a hole in the wall. Then said he unto me, son of man, dig now in the wall. And when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. So I went in, and saw ; and behold, every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, portrayed upon the wall round about." *Ezekiel* ch. viii. 7. 8.

10. See also *Eusebius*, lib. ii. *Præp. Evang. Justin. Quæst. ad Orthodoxos* ; &c.

No. 23. Small vessels of pale clay, (exactly of this form,) baked only by the sun's heat, are found in digging among the antiquities of Saïs, and also in the catacombs of Saccâra.

24. This strange looking figure can only be comprehended by comparing it with other representations of the same thing, where the object is more distinctly delineated. It is intended for an angle of the elbow, with the lower part of the arm and hand extended horizontally ; the hand containing a cup, or small vase. It is very perfectly represented in *Zoega's* plate of the *Obeliscus Compensis*.

25. Two *Battle-axes*.

26. Same as No. 10.

27. Same as No. 5.

28. Vessels of *Terra Cotta*, as found at Saïs.

29. Same as No. 4.

30. Is an astronomical sign ; and it proves that the ancient symbol of *Byzantium* was derived from Egypt. Upon the Byzantine medals, the star appears above the crescent, which is here seen in an inverted position. It is still seen upon the walls of the grand signior's palace at Constantinople ; near the gilded iron gate in the gardens of the seraglio, by which the sultan enters from his winter apartments. The Turks display it upon their banners. The very ancient tradition preserved in *Athenæus*, of ' the sun's sailing over the ocean every night in a cup,' may possibly refer to this part of the Egyptian mythology. (See *Athen.* p. 469. Also *Bentley upon Phalaris*, p. 81.) It seems to correspond with representations seen upon heads of *Isis*, and also of *Ceres*, where an entire orb is placed within a crescent.

- No. 31. Same as No. 1. distinguished only by containing an orb, or *Scarabæan ball*.
32. Similar to No. 30.
33. Same as No. 31.
34. *Triglyph*, as seen in Doric architecture. This figure occurs as a written character in the ancient vernacular language of Egypt.
35. and 36. Same as No. 31.
37. Same as No. 29.
38. Same as No. 1.
39. The serpent, as described by Herodotus; held sacred in ancient Egypt, and still venerated by its modern inhabitants. Ceres was represented among the Greeks in a *car drawn by serpents*: and our Saviour used the expression, "*Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.*"
40. Same as No. 9.
41. Perhaps a dyke, or canal.
42. An owl.
43. Same as No. 10.
44. Same as No. 7.
45. Same as No. 28.
46. Same as No. 29.
47. Head of an ostrich, and of an ox or heifer.
48. A well known sign, used by the ancients, upon their medals, gems, vases, &c. to denote *Water*. The representations of '*IO crossing the Sea*' have frequently no other sign to signify *water* than this type beneath the figure of the *heifer*.
49. The *coluber cerastes*, or horned viper, a native of Egypt. See *Hasselquist*, p. 221. *Lond.* 1766. *Linn. Syst. Nat.* p. 217.
50. Same as No. 20.
51. A *lachrymatory*, between two *strigils*.
52. Perhaps the *ham-string*; an instrument of punishment used in the east.
53. An Egyptian altar.
54. Same as No. 24.
55. A perfect representation of the *Ibis*. That which Dr. Shaw has given, as found upon a *Sardonyx*, is far from being so faithful a portrait of this animal. See *Shaw's Travels*, plate facing p. 409. *Lond.* 1757.

- No. 56. Same as No. 23.
 57. and 58. Unknown.
 59. Same as No. 1.
 60. Same as No. 5.
 61. Unknown.
 62. Same as No. 1.
 63. A Dove.
 64. Same as No. 1.
 65. Same as No. 28.
 66. Same as No. 29.
 67. Same as No. 40. accompanied by the *Thyrus Scyllocyprius*. See Kircher, *Ædip. Ægypt.* tom. I. p. 277. *Rom.* 1652.
 68. Unknown.
 69. An Obelisk.
 70. Same as No. 3.
 71. Here the type of the *upper hemisphere* is introduced between the figures of a *bird* and one of those *crosses*, but without a *handle*, mentioned by *Ruffinus*, and by *Secrates Scholasticus*, lib. v. c. 17.
 72. Same as No. 22.
 73. Unknown.
 74. Same as No. 9.
 75. Same as No. 69.
 76. Three Axes.
 77. Same as No. 1.
 78. The same *bird* appears at No. 71. Unknown.
 79. Shows the only instance which occurs, in this hieroglyphic tablet, of the mode by which the priests compounded several archetypes into one symbol. The *fillet*, as at No. 16, is thrown over a sign of the *upper hemisphere*,* as at No. 9; and these form a pedestal, supporting a *dove*, as at No. 63; and the *blade of a knife*, somewhat similar to that seen at No. 14.
 80. Seems also a part of the compound figure in No. 79; being in the same line with the extremities of the *fillet*.

* By these expressions, "*upper*" and "*lower hemisphere*," ought properly to be understood *the sun* in the *upper* or *lower hemisphere*; and generally, an *orb* is represented in the *semicircle*. By the *first*, the Egyptians denoted *AMMON*; by the *second*, according to Jablonski, *SERAPIS*. See Jablonski's beautiful illustration of these signs. *Pantheon Ægypt.* tom. I. p. 265. *Francos.* 1750.

No. 81. Unknown.

82. Same as No. 9.

83. Same as No. 69.

The reader will perhaps deem these observations of little importance; yet surely the first step towards any chance of discovering a key to the hieroglyphic characters will be that which enables us to determine the *archetypes* whence the *letters* were severally derived; for, although these may appear somewhat plainly delineated upon this very ancient tablet, they are by no means so universally. As soon as the full outline was modified, and approached nearer to signs used as *letters*, the original forms were so altered that they almost disappeared. Thus we find examples, in the manuscripts taken from mummies, of a mode of writing, where the representation of an animal, or of any other visible object, only now and then appears, mingled with the *letters*, and very imperfectly traced.* Nor was this the only change that took place. The inscription upon this tablet, as it is evident, was intended to be read *vertically*, or from *top to bottom*, according to the form now observed in the *vulgar writing* of the Calmucks,† and some other Oriental nations; but in process of time the *horizontal* manner of tracing the signs was introduced, as we see by the inscriptions upon the tablet found at Saccára:‡ and the characters were then read from left to right, if we may judge from the position of the figures introduced among the hieroglyphics upon that stone.

When we had agreed with the Arabs for the purchase of this tablet, and for its safe conveyance on board the *djerm*, we prepared to examine the interior of the mosque. Here we found, among other materials loosely put together for the purpose of supporting a stone table, the finest piece of Egyptian sculpture we had yet seen. This was the *Torso* of a statue of the kind of *trap* mentioned before, or *green Oriental basalt*. So perfect is its preservation, that the polish upon its surface equals that of glass. A zone, covered

* See Hamilton's *Ægyptiaca*, p. 407, &c. Lond. 1809.

† The *sacred writing* of the Calmucks is read from left to right, like our own. See part the first of these travels, p. 222.

‡ See p. 117.

with hieroglyphics, fastens the apron round its waist: and this apron is believed to represent the leaf of some Egyptian plant. But that which particularly distinguishes this *Torso*, is the curious exhibition it offers of the process used by the ancient sculptors of Egypt in graving the hieroglyphical symbols; a part only of the graved work being completed, and the rest of the figures sketched, as delineations upon the stone, with great ingenuity and accuracy, preparatory to their incision. Another remarkable circumstance, but generally characterizing the best hieroglyphical sculpture, may be distinctly observed upon this *Torso*. Although the engraved characters be all of them *intagliated*, and may be considered as *intaglios*, yet a bold convexity is perceivable within each figure, rising in relief from the inferior surface, like the workmanship of a *Caméo*.* There is a third point of view in which this curious fragment of the finest sculpture of Egypt is also entitled to more particular regard; not only in the university where it is now placed, but from literary men in general, and among all those who are interested in ecclesiastical history. The very first hieroglyphical character engraven upon the back of this statue, is the *CRUX ANSATA*; the identical type mentioned by early writers of the church, as having caused such a stir among Christians and Pagans, at the destruction of the heathen temples in Alexandria.† From the time of Ruffinus, of Socrates, and of Sozomen, this type has occasionally exercised the ingenuity and the erudition of the most learned scholars.‡ It is seen suspended from a hook, which is fastened by its other extremity to a *globe or ball*, evidently intended for the *sun*. Admitting, therefore, the explanation of the *Crux ansata*, as given to us, upon the testimony of converted heathens, by Ruffinus, and by Socrates Scholasticus,§ and supposing the meaning of these figures to be *symbolical* in this instance rather than *literal*, we may explain

* Johnson writes this word *Camaieu*, from *Chamachia*; but it is now become sufficiently naturalized, under its present form, to admit of its being written according to the common mode of pronouncing the word. Nicols, in his "*Lapidary*," chap. xxv. p. 131, (printed at Cambridge in 1652,) wrote it both *Chamehua* and *Cameus*. The editors of the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, vol. V. part I. Edin. 1812, have adopted the word *Caméo*.

† See chap. IV. p. 72, of this volume.

‡ *Jamblichus*, in an earlier period, had endeavoured to explain it. Among the moderns, *Kircher*, *Jablonski*, our countryman *Dr. Shaw*, *De Paux*, and others, have all written upon this subject.

§ See chap. IV. p. 73, of this volume.

the signification of this triple hieroglyphic without further conjecture; for it plainly indicates that **LIFE TO COME PROCEEDS FROM, AND DEPENDS UPON, THE GIVER OF LIGHT.** The Christians, says Socrates,* perceiving that this great truth was couched under hieroglyphical signs, and that the same signs did also prognosticate the downfall of the temple of Serapis, whenever it came to light, exulted in the discovery, and made it the ground upon which many of the heathens were converted. After the same manner, continues the historian,† did the apostle St. Paul convert many of the Athenians to the faith, by using for his purpose a heathen altar, which he found with an inscription “**TO THE UNKNOWN GOD.**”

Having also purchased this *Torso*, and conveyed it on board the vessel, as the day was now far advanced, we prepared for our departure from Saïs; much gratified by a view of the place, and by the acquisitions we had made in so short a space of time. The Arabs expressed equal satisfaction; for the whole village assembled to accompany us as far as the river; the women dancing, singing, and clapping their hands; and the men playing upon reed pipes, called here *Zûmana*.‡ Many of these women wore large bracelets of ivory; and exhibited the same indecent gestures which we had noticed among the dancing girls in our visit to Saccâra. They remained dancing upon the shore until we lost sight both of them and of *Sé'l Hajar*. The Nile was truly boisterous, and the rapidity of our descent rendered our loss of time of less consequence; it was like a passage of the *rapids* in some of the rivers that fall into the gulf of Bothnia; and, towards evening, the turbulence of the waves induced our boatmen to anchor, for a short time, at the village of *Makallet Abouali*. The wind was less violent after sun-set; and we passed Rachmanie during the night, regretting that we could not see the great canal which supplied Alexandria with water from the river.

Before daylight in the morning, September the fifth, we went to the village of *Berinbal*, to see the manner of hatching poultry, by placing their eggs in ovens, so frequently

* Socrates Scholasticus, lib. v. c. 17. p. 276. Paris, 1663.

† Ibid.

‡ It is the same instrument which we noticed at Saacâra, under the name of *Zabûna*.

mentioned by authors, and so well described by one of our oldest travellers, George Sandys.* Notwithstanding this, the whole contrivance, and the trade connected with it, are accompanied by such extraordinary circumstances, that it required all the evidence of one's senses to give them credibility. We were conducted to one of the principal buildings constructed for this purpose; and entered by a narrow passage, on each side of which were two rows of chambers, in two tiers, one above the other, with cylindrical holes, as passages, from the lower to the upper tier. The floor of the upper tier is grated and covered with mats, on which is laid camel's dung; somewhat resembling the manner of placing hops, for drying, in English oat-houses. We counted twenty chambers, and in each chamber had been placed three thousand eggs; so that the aggregate of the eggs then hatching amounted to the astonishing number of sixty thousand. Of these, above half are destroyed in the process. The time of hatching continues from autumn until spring. At first, all the eggs are put in the lower tier. The most important part of the business consists, of course, in a precise attention to the requisite temperature: this we would willingly have ascertained by the thermometer, but could not adjust it to the nice test adopted by the Arab superintendant of the ovens. His manner of ascertaining it is very curious. Having closed one of his eyes, he applies an egg to the outside of his eyelid; and if the heat be not great enough to cause any uneasy sensation, all is safe; but if he cannot bear the heat of the egg thus applied to his eye the temperature of the ovens must be quickly diminished, or the whole batch will be destroyed.† During the first eight days of hatching, the eggs are kept carefully turned. At the end of that time, the culling begins. Every egg is then examined, being held between a lamp and the eye; and thus the good are distinguished from the bad, which are cast away. Two days after this culling, the fire is extinguished; then half the eggs upon the lower are conveyed to the upper tier, through the cylindrical passages in the floor; and the ovens are closed. In about ten days more, and sometimes twelve, the chickens are hatched. At this time a very singular ceremony ensues. An Arab enters the

* See "Relation of a journey begun A. D. 1610," p. 125. *Lond.* 1637.

† We may therefore suppose the temperature about equal to blood-heat, or 100° of Fahrenheit.

ovens, stooping and treading upon stones placed so that he may walk among the eggs without injuring them, and begins clucking like a hen; continuing this curious mimicry until the whole are disclosed. We heard this noise, and were equally surprised and amused by the singular adroitness of the imitation. The chickens thus hatched are then sold to persons employed in rearing them. Many are strangely deformed; and great numbers die, not only in rearing, but even during the sale; for, to add to the extraordinary nature of the whole undertaking, the proprietors of these ovens do not give themselves the trouble of counting the live chickens, in order to sell them by number, but dispose of them, as we should say, by the gallon; heaping them into a measure containing a certain quantity, for which they ask the low price of a *parah*; rather more than a farthing of our money. Four soldiers were at this time stationed at *Berinal*, to protect the inhabitants from being pillaged by our allies, the Turks.

Near this village we noticed the superb tomb of some Santon, or Sheik, standing upon the banks of the Nile. The form of the dome, so prevalent in these buildings, seems to have been originally borrowed from the shape either of a pumpkin or of a melon; the external fluted surface, and almost the entire form of the fruit, being modelled by the architect. The custom also of surrounding a principal tomb with humbler sepulchres, as it existed in ages when the pyramids were erected, seems, by the appearance of this cemetery, to have been common in the country. The place is called *Massora Shibrecki*. Other travellers have observed, not only in Egypt, but also in Syria, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Damascus, a form of sepulchre precisely corresponding, though upon a smaller scale, with the graduated structure of the pyramids; being all of them pyramidal, with decreasing ranges, of *four* or more steps, like the principal pyramids of Saccára.* It is proper

* Colonel Squire mentions this circumstance twice in his Journal; once in describing the cemeteries of Damascus, and a second time in his account of the pyramids of Saccára. Speaking of the latter, he says, 'To this day the inhabitants cover the spot where the body is interred with a sort of monument, which is evidently taken from the form of a pyramid. The large pyramid at Saccára is formed in four stages, and is flat at the top. Indeed, all the pyramids, although, as it is reported, they may have been cased with a smooth stone surface, are built with steps, and many of them are flat on the summit. At present, the common tombs of the inhabitants of Egypt and Syria are built in this form. In the towns, the work is masonry; in the vil-

to mention this, because it tends to confirm what was before said of the sepulchral origin of the pyramids; and also because this peculiarity is not observable in the cemetery at *Massora Shibrecki*, which might be supposed to exhibit the usual form of oriental tombs. The shape here of the smaller sepulchres is rather cylindrical than pyramidal.

A little below *Berimbal*, there is a canal which extends to the lake *Bereles*: at the mouth of it we saw some birds of exquisite beauty, to which the Arabs give the name of *Sicsack*; but could learn nothing further of their history. Also a species of *Ardea*, entirely of a white colour, by some mistaken for the *Ibis*; but the bill is differently shaped, and the *Ibis* has generally, if not always, some black feathers near the tail. Hasselquist described the *Ibis* as a species of *Ardea*, of the size of a raven.* He says that it eats and destroys serpents,† small frogs, and insects; that it is very common in Egypt, and almost peculiar to that country. We saw also the *Egyptian Plover*, or *Tringa Ægyptiaca* of the same author. The rest of our voyage to Rosetta was so expeditious, that we arrived there by eight o'clock in the same morning; and repaired to our former residence upon the quay. As soon as we landed Mr. Hammer heard that sir Sidney Smith was upon the point of sailing for England; and being unable to resist the opportunity thus offered of visiting a country he so much wished to see, he gave up the plan he had formed for an expedition to the *Oases*, and set out immediately for the British fleet. While he was employed in procuring camels for himself and his servant, we wrote a few letters of introduction for him to some of our correspondents in the University of Cambridge, and in other parts of England, and with great regret took leave of our valuable friend.

We found an evident difference of climate between this place and Grand Cairo. The dates were not yet ripe; and the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, when we made our usual observation at noon, had fallen five degrees lower than it stood at Grand Cairo only four days before; being at eighty-nine upon September the first; and this day, Septem-

lages, they are constructed of mud; but they retain, in either instance, a resemblance to the Pyramids in their forms. This, joined to other circumstances, seems to afford a strong proof that the pyramids were originally intended as receptacles for the dead." *Squire's MS. Journal*.

* Hasselquist's Travels, p. 198. Lond. 1766.

† See Savigny's observation upon the anatomy of the *Ibis*, denying this property.

ber the fifth, at eighty-four. The number of English women that had assembled at Rosetta from the different ships in the fleet, and were walking daily upon the strand, offered a singular contrast to the appearance exhibited by the Arab females, in their passage to and from the Nile for water, and in the markets of the town. To these were also, occasionally, added the women of the Indian army, now encamped near Rosetta, wearing large rings in their noses, and silver cinctures about their ankles and wrists; their faces, at the same time, being frightfully disfigured by red streaks, traced above the eyebrows. Each party of these females doubtless regarded the other two as so many savages; and who shall say which was the most refined? The town had undergone other alterations, and was much improved as a place of residence since we left it in the beginning of August. An Italian had opened a coffee-house, which was the resort of the officers both of the army and navy. A prospect of tranquillity had brought back many families, who had before deserted it: and Arabs were seen in great numbers in the streets, selling sugar canes, fruit, and other vegetables; and employed in making chairs, tables, and bedsteads, from the branches of the date trees.* We had no time to spare for any further inquiry into the history of the place, or the antiquities it might conceal:† yet, in spite of every exertion to prosecute our expedition to Alexandria, we were detained three days in preparing and packing cases, containing the collection we had made, and in

* Rosetta was again become an emporium for the surprising harvest of Upper as well as Lower Egypt. Mr. Wills, acting as commissary for our fleet, to whom we were indebted for many acts of civility, at this time received an order for corn, to the amount of seventeen thousand pounds sterling. This gentleman informed us, and said he was convinced of the truth of the statement, that Upper Egypt could annually supply five millions of *Cairo ardepts* of wheat; each *ardept* being equal to five bushels of our measure; beside a great supply of barley and rice, the precise quantity of which he was unable to ascertain.

† Captain Squire arrived at Rosetta in the evening of the same day on which we left it. The following remarks occur in his Journal. "The town of Rosetta, or Raschid, as it is called by the Arabs, was built in the year of Christ 875; and is now in a very ruinous state: the houses, which are built of burned brick, are high; and the streets, as in all Turkish towns, narrow. At this time it is but thinly inhabited, although trade (now the ports of Egypt are relieved from a blockade) seems about to revive; the shops are well stocked with provisions of all kinds. Wild fowl may be had in abundance. It may easily be conceived that the eye would revel in a prospect so refreshing as the Delta, (after contemplating the sandy deserts of Aboukir, and the neighbourhood of Alexandria,) forming so delightful a contrast by its verdure and cultivation. Of late years, the desert has encroached, even here, considerably on the town; and the west side of Rosetta is completely skirted by sand hills." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

procuring another djerm to convey them to the fleet; the boat in which we came having been pressed for the service of the army as soon as it arrived.



CHAP. VII.

ROSETTA TO ALEXANDRIA.

Voyage to Aboukir—Visit to Lord Keith—Journey to Alexandria—Arrival at the British camp—Communication with Lord Hutchinson—Entrance into the French garrison—Wretched state of the inhabitants—Visit from a party of Merchants—Discovery of the Tomb of Alexander—Circumstances of its removal by the French—Its situation upon the author's arrival—Internal evidence of its authenticity—Other antiquities collected by the French—Cleopatra's Needles—Pompey's Pillar—Discovery of the Inscription—Sepulchral origin of the Column—Manner of its support—Proof that it was erected by the Romans—Restoration of the legend upon the pedestal—Events that occurred after the death of Pompey—Shrine constructed by Caesar—Testimony of the Arabian Historians—Hadrian's monument to his horse—Traditionary name of the Pillar founded on historical evidence—Interview with Menou—Surrender of the Rosetta Tablet—Intercourse between the armies—French Institute—Catacombs of Necropolis—Serapeum of Racotis—Of Hades and of Ammon—Cause of such elaborate sepulchres—Descent into the Cryptæ—Remarkable Symbol—Imperfect accounts of the Alexandrian Antiquities—Conduct of the Capudan Pasha.

EARLY on the morning of September the eighth, we got once more under weigh, in a large djerm, having all our Egyptian collection of antiquities on board; and saw the beautiful prospect of Rosetta disappear, as we sailed between the isle of *Sarshes* and the Delta. We had little wind, but it was favourable; and as we passed the fearful bar at the mouth of the Nile, there was not the smallest surf. A small isle at the entrance of the river was entirely covered with pelicans. About half way between the *boccaxe* and the fleet,

we observed a salute from all the Turkish ships at anchor; in honour, as it was said, of some mahometan festival. The mud of the immense torrent now pouring into the Mediterranean, at the highest period of the Nile's inundation, extended over the surface of this part of the sea; and the water tasted fresh at a considerable distance from the embouchure. As captain Clarke's frigate no longer remained among the transports, we steered our vessel among the merchant ships lying nearer to the coast towards Aboukir, and came alongside the *Felicité* from Smyrna, laden with stores. Here we were hospitably received by our friend Mr. Schutz, of that city, who was on board, as supercargo, and by a worthy Ragusan who was master of the merchantman.

The next morning, Wednesday September the ninth, we waited upon lord Keith, to thank him for the civilities he had shown us, and to take our leave. He told us that no vessels would be permitted to sail into the port of Alexandria, until the French had evacuated the city, and the magazines been properly secured by our army; as he knew that there were not less than fifty or sixty ships, manned by Greeks and Turks, waiting for the sole purpose of plunder. We could not therefore obtain permission for the *Felicité* to take us thither; and we returned, to undertake the journey by land. A contrary wind, with a very heavy sea, had caused so much delay, and had given us so much labour in working up to the admiral's ship, that we did not get back again until the day was far advanced. We passed that night upon the deck of the *Felicité*; the cabin swarming to such a degree with bugs, that the table, during dinner, was covered with them. We set out very early, September the tenth, accompanied by Mr. Schutz, and reached the British camp by day-break. The commander in-chief was on horseback, inspecting the lines. We waited in his tent until he returned, when he received us with his usual condescension and kindness. He told us that our friend Mr. Hamilton had also reached the camp that morning, and had been furnished with a passport to enter Alexandria. The capitulation for the surrender of that city had been protracted by the contumacy of the French general, Menou, who was unwilling to deliver up the antiquities demanded by the English, and his reluctance, in this respect, was considerably augmented by observing the increasing nature of those demands: for as the French had carefully concealed what they possessed, fresh intelligence continually came to lord Hutchinson concerning the acqui-

sitions they had made, and gave rise to some new exaction on the part of our army. Thus finding himself likely to be stripped of all the Egyptian trophies with which he had prepared to adorn the museum at Paris, Menou gave no bounds to his rage and mortification. Sometimes he threatened to bury himself and his troops in the ruins of Alexandria, sooner than accede to the proposals he had received; at other times he had recourse to the most ridiculous gasconade, and threatened to meet lord Hutchinson in single combat. The valuable tablet found near Rosetta, with its famous trilingual inscription, seemed to be more than any other article the subject of his remonstrances; because this, he maintained, was "his private property; and therefore as exempt from requisition as the linen of his wardrobe, or his embroidered saddles."* We then ventured to inform his lordship, that we had reason to believe there was something concealed in Alexandria, for the possession of which the French were more anxious than even for this tablet: and making known to him the nature of our errand, received his orders to set out instantly for Alexandria; and endeavour to discover, not only where the particular monument was hid to which we alluded, but also whatsoever other antiquities the French might have secreted in the city. He gave us also authority from himself to receive the Rosetta tablet, and to copy its inscriptions; fearful lest any accident might befall it, either while it remained in the possession of the enemy, or in its passage home. His lordship had already obtained an impression from the stone, made with red chalk, upon paper, by some member of the French institute; but the characters so impressed were too imperfectly marked to afford a faithful representation of the original: this he consigned to our care, as likely to assist us in the undertaking. While we were thus engaged in receiving his lordship's instructions, colonel Montresor came in, and undertook to procure for us the horses and forage which lord Hutchinson had ordered. Having then given us a passport for quitting the English lines and entering the city, we were conducted to the tent of colonel Probyn, of the royal Irish; and, in a short time, colonel Montresor, from whom we had often before experienced the most friendly attentions, arrived with horses and every thing necessary for our conveyance.

* These were nearly Menou's own words, as they are given in the sequel.

Thus provided, we left the British camp, and, crossing the valley which separated the two armies, drew near to the out-works of Alexandria. Our sentinels, being then advanced close to the fortifications of the place, challenged us; and having given them the word, we were suffered to pass on. As we approached the gates of the city, we saw a vast number of Arabs, who were stationed on the outside of the walls, with baskets of poultry and other provisions, waiting for permission from the English to supply the inhabitants; who were then greatly distressed for want of food. At the gates, a French sentinel received our passport, and conducted us to an officer for its examination; who directed us to present it again, when we should arrive at head-quarters within the city. In the desolate scene of sand and ruins which intervenes between the outer gates and the interior fortifications, we met a party of miserable Turks, who were endeavouring, literally, to crawl towards their camp.* They had been liberated that morning from their dungeons. The legs of these poor creatures, swoln to a size that was truly horrible, were covered with large ulcers; and their eyes were terrible from inflammation. Some, too weak to advance, had fallen on the sand, where they were exposed to the scorching beams of the sun. Immediately on seeing us, they uttered such moans that might have pierced the hearts of their cruel oppressors. They begged for water, but we had none to give them; for, eager in the pursuit of our object, we had neglected to supply ourselves with provisions. We succeeded, but not without difficulty, in prevailing upon some Arabs to take care of them until relief could be obtained;† and at eleven o'clock, A. M. we passed through the inner gates, into the great square of Alexandria.

We found the inhabitants in the greatest distress for want of provisions; many of them had not tasted meat or bread for several months. The French, who were better supplied for some time, were now driven to such straits, that they had put to death fifteen horses every day, for many days past, to supply their own soldiers with food. The families, to whom we had brought letters, were in a state of misery

* Some repetition will perhaps be noticed of observations made in a former work; (*Tomb of Alexander*, p. 38;) but the author did not consider any thing which occurred in a preceding publication as authorizing the omission of a part of his journal upon the present occasion.

† We had afterwards the happiness of hearing that they reached the Turkish camp.

hardly to be described. We first went to the house of the imperial consul. They asked us eagerly when the English were to enter the city: and being told that some days would elapse before this could take place, they burst into tears. Every individual beneath the consul's roof exhibited proof of the privation which his family had sustained: fallen cheeks; clothes hanging loose, as if too large for their bodies; and a general appearance of wretchedness and dejection. The consul said, that his family had tasted neither bread nor meat for many months: that their principal food had been bad rice and onions. Upon the landing of our army, most of the inhabitants were under the necessity of making biscuit for the support of their families; but as soon as this was known to Menou, he ordered the whole of it to be seized, for the use of the garrison. When we inquired what other measures the French had adopted to maintain themselves, we were informed, that they had seized all the specie, plate, and merchandise in the city; and given, in lieu thereof, bills upon their *one and indivisible* republic; thus having the means of buying up, at enormous prices, whatever article of food might be brought in by the Arabs, or appear in the markets of the place.*

If the capitulation had been prolonged another fortnight, every merchant's family would have been found destitute even of clothing; for, every fortnight, additional exactions were made by the troops; and already every thing else had been seized. It was calculated that of the Turks, then prisoners in the city, upwards of forty perished daily. The French had carried their cruelty to these men to the severest extremities; making them work, like horses, at their mills, and in drawing water. All the male inhabitants had been compelled to assist in the duties of the garrison, and to bear

* The following prices were given, upon the day of our arrival, for provisions, which of course the merchants were precluded from buying, as they had been stripped of every thing likely to be accepted in exchange.

| | L. s. d. English. | | |
|---|-------------------|----|---|
| For one pound of beef | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| one bottle of wine | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| one ditto of brandy | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| one pound of bad rice | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| one ditto of cheese | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| a fish (the size of a mackarel) | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| one egg | 0 | 0 | 8 |

Neither bread nor wood could be obtained at any price: the French soldiers were then employed in pulling down the houses of the inhabitants for fuel.

arms, upon pain of imprisonment if they refused; a species of oppression, however, which might have been expected from any troops similarly situated; neither would it be proper to judge of Frenchmen in general by the sample which their army in Egypt afforded; collected as it had been, from the refuse not only of the French republic, but of all the rovers and banditti of the Levant. So desirous were the French soldiers of abandoning Alexandria, notwithstanding the obstinacy of their general, Menou, whom they detested, that they had been seen to seize Arabs by the beard, who arrived by stealth, with provisions, and beat them, in order that supplies of food might not be the means of protracting the surrender of the place.

We had scarcely reached the house in which we were to reside, when a party of the merchants, who had heard of our arrival from the imperial consul, came to congratulate us upon the successes of our army, and to offer any assistance in their power, for expediting the entry of the English into Alexandria. Some of these waited until the room was cleared of other visitants, brought by curiosity, before whom they did not think proper to make further communication. But when they were gone, speaking with circumspection, and in a low voice, they asked if our business in Alexandria related to the subject of contention between lord Hutchinson and Menou; namely, the antiquities collected by the French in Egypt? Upon being answered in the affirmative, and in proof of it, the copy of the Rosetta stone being produced, the principal person among them said, "Does your commander-in-chief know that they have the *Tomb of Alexander?*" We desired them to describe it; upon which they said, that it was of one entire and *beautiful green stone,** shaped like a cistern, and taken from the mosque of St. Athanasius; that, among the inhabitants this cistern had always borne the appellation of *Alexander's Tomb*. Upon further conversation, it was evident this could be no other than the identical monument to which our instructions from Caïro referred. We produced the confidential letter entrusted to us upon this subject. The person to whom it was written was not present; but they offered to conduct us to his house. We had hitherto carefully concealed the circum-

* The fact is, that the stone, being a mass of *breccia*, is variegated; and parts of it only are of a *green colour*.

stance of its being in our possession ; and for obvious reasons we shall not mention, even now, the name of the individual to whom it was addressed. " It relates, then," said they, " to the particular object of our present visit ; and we will put it in your power to get possession of it." They then related the unjustifiable measures used for its removal by the French, upon whom they bestowed every degrading epithet which their indignation could suggest ; telling us, also, the veneration in which the mahometans had always held it, and the tradition familiar to all of them respecting its origin. Indeed, this had been so long established, that one wonders it had been so little noticed among the enlightened seminaries of Europe.* Leo Africanus, long subsequent to the conquest of Alexandria by the Saracens, had recorded the tradition;† and Freinshemius, in his Supplement to Livy, had admitted the authority of Leo.‡ That it should particularly excite the attention of Frenchmen is easily explained. Their own countryman, Rollin, had directed their regard towards it, by countenancing the opinion and testimony of Freinshemius.§ So eager were they to obtain it, that the most solemn treaty was infringed, whereby they had guaranteed to the moslems the inviolable possession of their sanctuaries. The mosque of St. Athanasius was forcibly entered by a party of their pioneers, with battle-axes and hammers ; and the "*Tomb of Iscander, founder of the city*," was borne away, amidst the howling and lamentation of its votaries.|| But we must turn our attention, at present, from the circumstances of its removal by the French, to pursue a narrative of events which ultimately placed in our possession a trophy, still destined, in their sanguine expectations, to grace their national Museum.** At the moment

* Many were misled by the words of Juvenal :

" Cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem

" *Sarcophago contentus erit*" —

supposing the allusion to be intended, rather for *Babylon* than for *Alexandria*, where Juvenal had himself visited the Tomb.

† *Alexandriæ Descript.* tom. II. lib. 8. p. 677. * *Elzev.* 1632.

‡ *Lib.* 133. tom. V. p. 637. edit. *Grevier*.

§ *Rollin*, vol. V. p. 137.

|| See also the communication made to Dr. Henley, by general Turner, respecting the last instance of devotion paid to the tomb by many moslems of distinction, at its departure from Alexandria. *Append. to Tomb of Alex.* No. II. p. 144.

** Perhaps few of our countrymen have yet attended to the language they hold upon this subject. The following extract from an account of the French Expedition to Egypt, by Charles Norry, architect, one of the members of

of our arrival in the city, not a single individual of our army or navy, nor even in Great Britain, knew that the monument at which Leo Africanus had himself done homage, as a mahometan, and which had so long been venerated by moslems under the remarkable appellation of the Tomb of Alexander, existed in Alexandria.*

We then visited the person to whom our letter from Cai-ro had been addressed, respecting the communication to be made upon our arrival; and found that every information had been anticipated by the intelligence we had already received, excepting that which related to the place where this valuable relic was now deposited. This, however, they readily gave us. We were told that it was in the hold of an hospital ship, named *La Cause*, in the inner harbour; and being provided with a boat, we there found it, half filled with filth, and covered with rags of the sick people on board.† It proved to be an immense monolithal *Sarcophagus*, or, according to the name borrowed by the Greeks from the ancient language of Egypt, a *Soros*;‡ converted, in ages long posterior to its formation, into a cistern, according to a custom which has been universal in the East, wherever such receptacles for the dead have been discovered. The nature of the stone, and the testimonies concerning its history, have been already before the public:§ some repetition has therefore now occurred; but to repeat the whole of a detail which was then unavoidably elaborate, would be considered not only as tedious, but altogether as a work of supererogation. The *Soros* is now placed where it is open to the in-

the "*Société Philotechnique*," attached to the expedition, will offer a specimen of the hopes entertained in France for the recovery of this valuable monument. "SANS DOUTE CE MONUMENT NOUS SERA APORTE AU MUSEUM DE PARIS! AU MOINS EST-IL DEJA DESIGNÉ POUR L'ORNER UN JOUR"!!!! See *Peltier's edit. of Denon's Voyage in Egypt*, tom. II. *Append.* p. 129. *Lond.* 1802.

* This is evident, from the total silence respecting it in all the works published concerning Egypt since the campaign; neither was there any thing known concerning the history of this monument after it was deposited in the British Museum, until the period of the author's publication upon the subject in 1805.

† Mr. Hamilton afterwards saw it in the same situation. "We were conducted," says he, "alongside of a large hospital ship, on board of which was the celebrated Alexandrian Sarcophagus: it had been for several months in the hold, and was intended to be sent to France the first opportunity. This monument was resigned to us not without much regret, as it had long been considered one of the most valuable curiosities in Alexandria." *Hamilton's Egyptiaca*, p. 403. *Lond.* 1809.

‡ See Jablonski, Bochart, Kircher, &c.

§ See "*The Tomb of Alexander*," as published by the author in 1805.

spection of any one who may deem it to be an object of curiosity. All that the author wishes to insist upon, as conveying indisputable evidence, is, the corresponding testimony afforded by the remarkable nature of the receptacle, with the tradition mentioned by Leo Africanus, and preserved among the moslems to the hour of its removal :* a species of evidence which may be fairly deemed *internal* ; because it is impossible that a set of ignorant barbarians could be aware that the object of their veneration was, in fact, that particular species of conditory, which Herodian, speaking of the Tomb of Alexander, has designated by the term *Soros* ; still less that the same *Soros*, inscribed with the *sacred writing* of the priests, is thereby demonstrably the tomb of some person deified by the Egyptians, as Alexander incontestably was after his interment.†

In the evening of the same day, about five o'clock, we waited upon Monsieur Le Roy, *Ordonnateur de la Marine*, in consequence of receiving, by Menou's Aid-de-Camp, an order from the French General to see the other antiquities their army had collected to send to France, and which they had been compelled to surrender. This gentleman treated

* The Arabs retain both the name and æra of Alexander in their calendars ; calling him always, *دالتريدن* *bicornis* ; and Golius explains the true cause of this appellation. "Arabes eum *Bicornem* vocant, non tam ob partum Orientis et Occidentis imperium, quam à cornutâ *Alexandri effigie*, nummis exhibitâ, ut Jovis Ammonis filius agnosceretur." (*Vid. Annot. in lib. ii. Sulpit. Sever. c. 25. p. 343. Edit. Horn. L. Bat. 1654.*) The image of Alexander, so expressed, appears upon the medals of Lysimachus, and was common to many States after his death, although it is always falsely considered as the head of some other person. His image also appears very commonly covered with the spoils of a lion ; when it is improperly considered as a young *Hercules* ; sometimes also it is seen armed with a helmet, and then it is confounded with the figures of *Minerva*. Le Brun has been censured and ridiculed for introducing what has been called a *head of Minerva*, upon the figure of Alexander, in his celebrated paintings of his battles ; whereas it is, in all probability, a genuine portrait of that hero. Alexander is thus alluded to in the tailor's story before the sultan of Casgar, in the Arabian Tales. "Sir," said he, "you will be pleased to know that this day is Friday, the 18th of the month Saffar, in the year 653 from the retreat of our great Prophet from Mecca to Medina, and in the year 7320 of the EPOCHA OF THE GREAT ISKENDER WITH TWO HORNS."

† See *Lucian*, vol. I. p. 290. *edit. Amstelod. Blæu.* Marcus Aurelius ALEXANDER Severus was born in a temple sacred to Alexander the Great, and thence received the name of Alexander. See also the various proofs of Alexander's deification adduced in the *Tomb of Alexander, Camb.* 1805 ; and the additional evidence of the fact, as published by Dr. Henley, in the Appendix to that work.—"Επιδοὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου βούλεται θεὸς, εἶναι, ἕκω θεός. Quamdoquidem Alexander vult esse Deus, esto Deus." *Ælian. lib. ii. Var. Hist. cap. 19.*—See also *Vossius, de Cultu Alexandri Magni*, tom. II. cap. 17. p. 802. *Amst. 1642, &c.*

us with great politeness, and conducted us to some magazines near the old port : here many of the relics were then deposited which are now in the national museum. A Soros, brought from Grand Caïro, was upon the beach near those magazines, together with part of another from Upper Egypt, ready to be shipped off, as soon as an opportunity might offer. Near to these were also placed a granite fragment, being the hand of a colossal statue discovered by the French engineers upon the site of ancient Memphis,* and supposed to have belonged to the temple of Vulcan.† Another fragment, exactly similar to this, is yet lying among some ruins upon the shore to the east of Alexandria, believed by the French to denote the site of Canopus.‡ An intentional reserve has been carefully maintained by their writers, upon the subject of all the antiquities that came into our possession : on this account the places where some of them were discovered are still unknown in this country. We saw also three large *Syenite* statues, each in a sitting attitude, holding the *Crux Ansata* in the left hand : these were representations of the twofold symbol worshipped by the Egyptians with a lion's head. The largest statues of this form are those of *Thebes*, about four hundred miles to the south of Caïro,§ one of which has been commonly called *Memnon's statue*. From the drawings made of those figures by Denon,|| it is plain that neither of them were represented with human heads; but that they correspond with the double image of a human figure with a lion's head, common among the antiquities of Egypt; the nose and under jaw of the leonine bust belonging to each of them having fallen off, but the rest of the head being similar to that which appeared upon the statues here shown to us by Monsieur Le Roy, and since removed

* Where the villages of *Metrahenny* and *Mohannan* are now situated.

† The reader will find this colossus mentioned in the "*Rapport fait au premier consul Bonaparte, par le citoyen Ripaud*," in the appendix to Peltier's edit. of *Denon's Travels in Egypt*, tom. II. p. 38. Lond. 1802. but without any specific description. Its dimensions alone are stated—" *Un colosse d'environ trente-cinq pieds de proportion.*"

‡ It is represented, with part of a Sphinx, and other broken pieces of sculpture, in one of the plates belonging to the large Paris edition of Denon's *Travels*. See tom. II. plate 3. "*Ruines de Canope.*"

§ According to Norden, 405 miles, who makes the distance equal to 135 French leagues. See *Drawings of some ruins, &c. published by the Royal Society in 1741* p. 9.

|| See plate 44 of the large Paris edition of the *voyage en Egypte, par Vivant Denon*.

to our national Museum. This is so evident, that it is remarkable none of the travellers who have visited Thebes have paid attention to the fact. They were perhaps misled, by expecting to find the image of a human form, as belonging to the supposed statue of Memnon. Indeed, Norden, in the design he made upon the spot, as appears by the etching he afterwards engraved from it,* has attempted a faint delineation of the human countenance, by introducing an imperfect restoration of the features, as they were suggested to his imagination by the appearance of the stone. Pococke used still greater freedom;† but Denon accurately delineated the figures as he found them. According to his plate, there is not the smallest trace left of any human countenance; and the back of the head, in each statue, agrees with those figures which have the leonine bust. Strabo, who was himself at Thebes, and mentions these colossal statues, does not say that either of them was a statue of *Memnon*; but that they were near the *Memnonium*; and that a sound issued every day from one of them.‡

Within the magazine we saw many other antiquities; particularly the head of a colossal image of the *Ram*, or of *AMMON*, whose name and worship, derived from *Æthiopia*,§ became a source of the most absurd and fabulous history among the Greeks.|| Also, two oblong slabs of stone, adorned with

* See Norden's etchings, tab. I. as before cited. Lond. 1741.

† Pococke's observations upon Egypt.

‡ Strabon. *Geogr.* lib. xvii. p. 1155. Ed. Oxon. The observation of Strabo may remove the difficulty that has always attended any endeavour to reconcile the statue from which the sound issued with that of an actual statue of Memnon; *Memnonis saxea effigies*, as mentioned by Tacitus. The persons who heard the sound might attribute that sound to Memnon, without considering the statue to be his statue.

§ See Vossius de Orig. et Prog. *Idol.* lib. ii. c. 11. Amst. 1642. Kircher *Œdip. Ægypt.* Synt. 3. cap. 6. Rom. 1652. Paus. *Philos.* Diss. part. iii. sect. 7. Lond. 1795, &c. &c. The reader may also consult Diodorus and the *Æthiopica* of Heliodorus. Kircher has cited a very remarkable communication, made to him by an Abyssinian, upon this curious subject, which he has thus translated into Latin. "*Quoniam à me petisti tibi dicere aliquid de Diis Æthiopum. Noveris quòd patres nostri cum gentilibus et paganis passim commiscerentur, inceperunt discere opera eorum; et fecerunt sibi Deos privatos, et adornaverunt eos, sculpturam manu hominis perfectam. . . . Et ego adhuc multa in Æthiopia in Barnagash hujusmodi vidi; erant autem magnà ex parte referentia caput Leonis et Aristis; nomen eorum, Amuna.*"

|| "Planè ridiculè est, velle *Ammonie* nomen petere à Græcis; cùm *Ægyptii* ipsi Ἀμμὺν appellant, teste etiam Herodoto." Vossius de Orig. &c. *Idolat.* lib. ii. c. 11. tom. I. p. 362. Amst. 1642. The name of the Supreme Being among the Brahmins of India is the first syllable only of this word, pronounced *Am*.

hieroglyphical sculpture, together with an Egyptian coffin of stone, adapted to the human form; and the fragment of a Soros, both brought from Upper Egypt. Also other antiquities, the description of which might afford very pleasing employment; but a volume, rather than a chapter, would be required for the undertaking: and all these relics are now under the guardianship of scholars amply qualified to satisfy the public curiosity concerning their history. At the house of general Friant, we were afterwards shown two statues of white marble; one of Marcus Aurelius, and the other of Septimius Severus, which are also now in England.

The next morning, September the eleventh, another French officer attended us, in company with Mr. Hamilton, to the obelisks, commonly called *Cleopatra's Needles*. One alone is now standing; the other, lying down, measures seven feet square at the base and sixty-six feet in length. They are so well known, that it is not necessary to give a very particular description of them.* They are covered with hieroglyphics, cut to the depth of two inches into the stone, which consists of red granite; but, owing to a partial decomposition of the feldspar, its red colour has faded toward the surface. A similar decomposition has frequently hastened the decay of other ancient monuments; and it offers proof of a fact worthy the notice of persons employed in national architecture; namely, that granite is less calculated for works of duration than pure homogeneous marble, or common limestone. The action of the atmosphere conduces to the hardness and durability of the two latter; but it never fails to corrode and to decompose substances where feldspar is a constituent. Examples may be adduced of marble, after continual exposure to air and moisture during two thousand years, still retaining the original polish upon its surface unaltered; but granite, under similar circumstances, has not only

* After the English were in possession of Alexandria, a subscription was opened among the officers of the army and navy, for the purpose of removing the cumbent obelisk to Great Britain. With the money thus raised they purchased one of the vessels that Menon had sunk in the old port of Alexandria; this they raised, and prepared for its reception. The work went on rapidly; the obelisk was turned, and its lower surface was found to be in a high state of preservation. It was then moved, by means of machinery constructed for the purpose, toward the vessel prepared to receive it. Lord Cavan presided in this undertaking. A naval officer, who was present upon the occasion, brought over to England the plans projected for conveying this splendid trophy of the success of our arms to the metropolis of this country; and there is every reason to believe the design would have been accomplished. Its interruption took place in consequence of an order preventing the sailors from assisting at the work.

undergone alteration, but, in certain cases, has crumbled, and fallen into the form of gravel, owing to the decomposition of the feldspar. Instances of such disintegration may be noticed among the ruins of Alexandria Troas, and over all the district of Troas in general. Some of the granite columns used by the Turks in the fabrication of their cannon balls have been found in such a state of decomposition, that, although sufficiently compact to admit of their receiving a spheroidal form, yet, when fired at our ships, the substance shivered, and flew about in small pieces, like cannister shot, proving a very destructive species of ammunition.*

We were now desirous of visiting the stupendous column so long distinguished by the appellation of "*Pompey's Pillar*." It is visible from almost every spot in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The inscription upon its pedestal (containing, as many have believed, the name of the emperor *Diocletian*) was not then known to exist, although it had been mentioned by the consul Maillet,† and after him by Pococke.‡ The circumstances of our visit may therefore be deemed curious; as Mr. Hamilton was one of our party, who afterwards assisted in the development of this important record, and who himself discovered the name, believed to be that of *Diocletian*, soon after the inscription was again recognised.§ When we had gratified our curiosity by a general survey of this surprising monument, and had gazed for some time in utter astonishment at the sight of a column of granite, whose shaft alone, of one entire mass, with a diameter of eight feet, measures sixty-three in height.|| Mr. Hamilton expressed a wish to find something remaining of the inscription mentioned by Pococke. In search of this, we examined the four sides of the pedestal: the western side seemed to be corroded, as many authors have described it to be; but not a trace of any existing inscription could be discerned. The author wishes to lay some stress upon this singular fact, that due merit may be attributed to those who have since so remarkably recovered the characters of that inscription; after it had also baffled

* The author has specimens of this decomposed granite, which the Turks employed against our fleet, during its passage of the Dardanelles, under Admiral Duckworth. The feldspar has entirely lost its colour; and the mass is become friable, like loosely cohering Breccia.

† *Désér. de l'Egypte*, tom. I. p. 190. à la Haye, 1740.

‡ *Descr. of the East*, vol. I. p. 8. Lond. 1748.

§ Mr. Hamilton communicated this circumstance in a letter to the author.

|| The height of the whole column, including the capital, shaft, and pedestal, is eighty-eight feet, six inches, as measured by the French engineers.

every research of the French during their long residence in the country, as their own writers do acknowledge.* Mr. Hamilton, who participated the labour, has since published an account of the transaction: but the person to whom the literary world has been exclusively indebted for *first* making known the actual existence of the inscription, after its supposed disappearance, has never yet been mentioned as the discoverer of it, in any of the publications that have appeared upon the subject. At the time of our visit, it was considered not merely as illegible, but altogether as lost; neither Mr. Hamilton, nor the author, nor any other individual of our party, being able to discern even the part of the pedestal where it had been inscribed. This may serve to explain the difficulty which afterwards attended its recovery, when a whole day was frequently required for the purpose of obtaining a single letter. Mr. Hamilton arrived in Alexandria, as it has been related by him,† after the inscription had been found, and the undertaking for copying it had been begun. He himself assisted in making a *fac-simile* of it; and it was he, as was before stated, who observed the letters which are now believed to complete the name of the emperor Diocletian. There is indeed good reason to conjecture that *Diocletian's* name is mentioned in that inscription; but it by no means necessarily follows that the pillar was erected by him; and some reasons will be given in the sequel to show that the legend admits of a different, although a doubtful, reading. At present, in justice to the memory of a distinguished, but now lamented officer, it is necessary to prove that all the information afforded by the inscription itself would have been consigned to everlasting oblivion, but for the important discovery made by the late lieutenant-colonel Squire of some remaining characters upon the pedestal, while Mr. Hamilton, and his companion, major Leake, were in Upper Egypt.‡ Therefore, whatsoever may be the nature of the intelligence derived from any subsequent examination of those characters, it will be due in the first place to the individual, who made known the circumstance of their existence;

* See particularly the "*Rapport par Charles Norry*," in the Appendix to Peltier's edition of Denon's Travels, (Lond. 1802.) as it was read before the Institute. "It is greatly to be regretted," says Norry, "that an inscription formerly placed on one of the sides of the pedestal should be no longer legible."

† *Ægyptiaca*, p. 403. Lond. 1809.

‡ This circumstance is mentioned in a letter to his brother, in the following words: "I believe the paper presented to the Antiquarian Society con-

for not only the members of the French Institute, but all who were with our army in Egypt, and almost every traveller who has visited Alexandria since the time of Pococke, did consider the inscription as being entirely lost.

As for the column itself, the *shaft* is of much earlier antiquity than either the *capital* or the *pedestal*. A similar *shaft*, of the same kind of granite, and nearly of equal magnitude, has been already described* among the ruins of another city, built also by the founder of Alexandria; remaining, like this, alone, without any contiguous architecture serving to prove that a pillar of such vast dimensions belonged to any temple, colonnade, or other edifice of the ancient city. It was before suggested, in the account given of that remarkable relic, that each of these columns may have supported a statue; but this notion of the use of a single pillar is not found to be warranted by any evidence on which we can rely. It is certain that some conspicuous relic was placed upon the *capital* of the Alexandrian column; a *circular cavity* having been there discovered, proving that there was formerly a projection for its support.† A ques-

tains the *best* history of the discovery of the Alexandrian Inscription," (*alluding to the misrepresentations published upon the subject by colonel Walsh and sir R. Wilson.*) "I wish not to be brought forward in any literary dispute; but the fact is, that most of the letters were discovered by me while Messrs. Hamilton and Leake were in Upper Egypt. I had seen the same inscription in Pococke's Travels before, and knew of its existence from that book." The next extract is taken from a former letter written by colonel Squire to his brother, from Alexandria: it relates to his discovery of the inscription, and is dated *Alexandria, Christmas Day, 1801*. "Here let me remark," says colonel Squire, "that it is not impossible but that part of the inscription on the great pillar may be read: *Π and Ο* are legible enough; and by other remains of characters, *I can plainly perceive that the inscription consisted of four lines in Greek. With sulphur, an impression of these characters might be taken, and perhaps something satisfactory discovered. Before we quit the country, I will certainly endeavour to make the experiment.*"

The public will therefore perceive that all idea of attempting the discovery is due to colonel Squire; that he had the greatest share in its execution, and that even the device of the *sulphur* is due to him. The consul Maillet, about fifty years before, had recommended *wax* for the same purpose: "*Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'au bas de son fût, du côté de l'ouest, on trouve une inscription Grecque, dont je ne crois pas qu'on ait encore tiré de copie. . . . Le seul moyen de l'avoir, seroit, à mon avis, d'en prendre l'empreinte sur de la cire molle.*" *Déscription de l'Égypte*, tom. I. p. 180. à la Haye, 1740.

* See section the first, chap. VI. of part II. of these travels.

† Norry describes a *circular cavity*, two inches deep, upon the summit; "which," says he, "gives reason to suppose that there has formerly been a projection on the top for supporting a statue; but this is merely conjecture." (See "*Rapport*," &c. as before cited.) However, we have reason for more than conjecture upon this subject, as will be manifest in the sequel; not indeed that a statue was here placed, whose pedestal would hardly have been circular; but a cinerary urn, for the foot of which a circular cavity is peculiarly suitable.

tion then naturally arises; Whether the ancient inhabitants of Asia Minor, of Egypt, and of Greece, were accustomed to use *pillars* for other purposes than those of architecture? This question may be decidedly answered in the affirmative. The *Stélæ* of the ancients had precisely the form of the shaft of this column; although no instance has yet been observed of a *sepulchral pillar* of such magnitude. Indeed, until lately, the *Stélæ* themselves had been remarkably overlooked; they were as so many stumbling-blocks to antiquaries; and nothing puzzled literary travellers more than the numerous examples of small pillars of granite, porphyry, and marble, scattered over the shores of the Ægean Sea: these were found generally in the vicinity of tombs, or near to the walls of cities where tombs were situated; being always insulated, and generally without capitals or pedestals. The Turks, imitating the customs of their predecessors, have introduced them into their cemeteries. Now and then a modern structure exhibits several *stélæ* of different sizes, collected together, and made to serve as props for the building: in such instances, *capitals* and *pedestals*, in barbarous taste, and of various materials, have been added to them. Remains of this kind may be discerned in some of the edifices erected in the lower ages of the Roman empire. Possibly, then, this pillar, stupendous as it is, was erected upon some memorable occasion, as a *sepulchral monument*. A few observations will soon show whether this *possible* illustration of its origin be also *probable*: nay, more; whether we have not strong presumptive evidence, to prove that a monument of this form was actually erected in this place, and for the purpose of a *stélé* or *sepulchral pillar*.

After a vain search for the inscription, we observed that the pedestal itself did not rest upon the sand: but that, by removing some of this, we might get beneath it, and examine the manner of its support. Here, to our surprise, we found that the whole of this immense pile, consisting of three parts, pedestal, shaft, and capital, was sustained upon a small prop of stone, about four feet square, exactly as it is described by Paul Lucas,* although positively contradicted by Norden.† Around this central base, but in very irregular positions, had been placed other masses, the sepulchral

* Voyage fait par ordre de Louis XIV. en 1714. tom. II. p. 22. *Amst* 1744.

† Travels in Egypt and Nubia, vol. I. p. 16. *Lond.* 1757.

fragments of ancient Egyptian monuments, which did not appear to contribute to the support of the column, but to have been brought there for the purpose of maintaining the prop in its adjusted situation until the pedestal could be raised upon it. The prop itself consists of a mass of that beautiful kind of *breccia*, called, peculiarly, *Egyptian*. The four sides of it are inscribed with hieroglyphic figures; but the position of these figures shows that the prop has its original base uppermost, for they appear inverted; thus affording a complete proof, that the stone, whereon they are inscribed, belonged to other more ancient works; and that these must have been in ruins before the column was erected upon its present basis. But this is not all the intelligence we derive from the topsyturvy position of the hieroglyphics; we have in this curious circumstance, most satisfactory evidence that this column was not set up, as it now stands, either by the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, or by the people of Alexandria under the Ptolemies; for nothing would be more absurd, than to suppose that, in an age when Egyptian superstitions were revered, and the hieroglyphics were regarded as sacred, such sacrilegious work would have been tolerated, as the burying of the holy images and symbols, *pell-mell*, to prop and to support a Corinthian pillar, even if it could be admitted that such an order of architecture then existed. Hence it is manifest, without further inquiry, that this monument, as it now appears, must be attributed entirely to the Romans; since the warmest advocates for the arts and ingenuity of the Arabs will not venture to ascribe a work of this kind to the moslems, in any period of their history. This is nearly all the intelligence we can obtain concerning it. The inscription upon the pedestal, as its characters were obtained in consequence of colonel Squire's discovery, gives us no information as to the origin of the column, although it may throw some light upon its restoration under its present form. The only visible part of the legend is as follows:*

ΤΟ ΩΤΑΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ
 ΤΟΝΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ
 ΔΙΟ ΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ
 ΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΟCΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ

.

* See the communication made by Dr. Raine to the Society of Antiquaries, as read before the society, Feb. 3, 1803.

In the third line, the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh letters, being indistinct, were supplied by dotted characters,* in order to complete a supposed reading of **ΔΙΟΚΑΗΤΙΑΝΟΝ**. But this introduction of the name of a Roman emperor, without an epithet immediately preceding it, is unusual, and, when letters are thus to be added by conjecture, or in consequence of some imaginary resemblance, in the indistinct traces of the original *legend*, to the characters which have been substituted, every person is at liberty to make his own hypothesis; provided only that a reading be produced which shall contain exactly the number of letters requisite to fill the vacant spaces upon the stone. For example, the perpendicular line of the dotted **Κ**, as proposed in the paper read to the Society of Antiquaries,† may with equal authority be written **Ν**. The two lines of the **Λ** may also belong to **Α**. The cross bar of the **Η** may be the lower line of **Δ**, and the **Τ** may, with equal probability, be written **Ρ**; and when this is granted, the reading becomes evidently **ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ**. The use of **ΔΙΟΣ**, as an epithet, answering to **DIVVS**, so frequently bestowed upon Roman emperors, and particularly upon Hadrian,‡ although authorized in this sense by Hesiod and by Homer, is, perhaps, unknown in Greek prose. Hadrian was called by the Greeks,§ both **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ** and **ΘΕΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ**. The epithet **Διος** was consequently appropriate; and the more so, as it was poetical; the language of poetry being often adopted in Greek inscriptions, which are very commonly written in metre.|| At the same time, it must be confessed that there is this powerful objection to the reading now proposed; that among all the epithets applied to Roman emperors which are preserved by Gronovius, Goltzius, Gorius, Vaillant, Harduin, and Eckhel, there is

* According to the plan pursued by Taylor, when he added the letters supposed to be wanted in the Marmor Sandvicense.

† See Dr. Raine's communication as above.

‡ Sic passim. "Ut Divus Hadrianus in quadam oratione ait." &c. (*Ulpianus*, lib. 50. *Dig.* tit. 15. *de Censibus*, &c. &c.) **IMP. CAESARI. DIVI. HADRIANI.** &c. *Donii Inscript. Antiq. ab Gorio. Classis tertia, No. 16. See also Nos. 17, 18, &c. Florent. 1731.*

§ See Harduin. *Num. Antiq.* p. 329. *Paris*, 1684. Also Vaillant, *Num. Imp.* pp. 34, 36. *L. Par.* 1698. Spanhem mentions an Athenian medal with this inscription to Hadrian; **ΟΑΤΜΙΘΙΟΝ. ΣΩΤΗΡΑ. ΤΟΝ. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ.** *De Præstantiâ et Usu Num.* p. 384. *Amst.* 1671.

|| Such inscriptions are commonly found in Asia Minor, and among the ruins of Paphos in Cyprus; also in the Island of Rhodes. See part II. sec. 4 of these Travels, chap. 8.

not an example where Δ_{105} is thus used. In this uncertainty with regard to the four letters which immediately follow Δ_{10} in this inscription, it must remain for some future traveller to determine what the true reading really is. The probability is certainly strong for $\Delta_{10}\text{KANTIANON}$, but this is by no means certain; and in favour of $\Delta_{10}\text{NANTIANON}$, it may be urged, that Sicard, as cited by Brotier,* who examined the inscription long ago, declared the fourth letter to be N instead of K. In order to account for the introduction of *Diocletian's* name, the supposed gratitude of the people of Alexandria to Diocletian, for an allowance of corn, has been mentioned;† but there is no authority in history either for the tribute itself, or for the feelings thereby believed to have been commemorated. Hadrian, on the contrary, for the services he rendered to their city, was preëminently entitled to their gratitude. This is evident from his own observations, when speaking of Alexandria:‡ “*HUIC EGO CUNCTA CONCESSI, VETERA PRIVILEGIA REDDIDI, NOVA SIC ADDIDI, UT PRÆSENTI GRATIAS AGERENT.*” Hadrian, according to Dio Cassius, performed funeral rites to Pompey.§ Julius Cæsar had done the same;|| and it is related, both by Lucan** and by Valerius Maximus,†† that when the head of Pompey was brought to him in Alexandria, he caused it to be burned with odours and the most solemn rites.

* Sicard believed the name to be that of *Dionysius Ptolemaus*, brother of Cleopatra, by whose order Pompey was assassinated. "Serapeum fuit in vico, cui nomen Necropolis, prope *Columnam Pompeii*, ut vulgò loquuntur; quam verius columnam *Dionysii Ptolemai* dicerent, ut ex seimesis inscriptiones literis observavit *P. Sicard* egregius *Egyptiacarum antiquitatum* indagator. (*Vid. Brotier. Annot. in Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 84.*) The circumstance of Sicard's maintaining that the name at the beginning of the third line of the inscription was *Dionysius*, &c. proves, at least, that he read ΔΙΟΝ, and not ΔΙΟΚ.

† "The occasion may perhaps be found in that part of the history of this emperor, where, after having severely chastised the inhabitants of Alexandria, who had rebelled against the government, he established a public allowance of corn for the city at two millions of medimni. See the memoir read to the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 3, 1803, as before cited.

† Epistola Hadriani Aug. Serviano Cos. *Ægypt. Vid. Vopisc. in saturnino*, p. 245.

§ Dio. Cass. Hist. Rom. lib. lxxix. vol. II. p. 1159. *Hamb.* 1750.

Ibid. lib. xlii. c. 8. vol. I. p. 310.

De Bell. Civil. lib. ix. ad fin.

†† "Caput autem plurimis et pretiosissimis odoribus cremandum curavit." *Valerii Maximi*, lib. v. p. 246. Paris, 1679.

and its ashes to be enshrined within *an urn*.* It sometimes was customary with the Romans to place their cinerary urns in conspicuous situations, upon the pinnacles of lofty and magnificent monuments. The famous Cone, or Pine-apple, of gilded brass, preserved in the Vatican at Rome, and originally placed upon the Mausoleum of Hadrian, was perhaps intended to contain the ashes of that emperor; and in the examination of the Alexandrian Column, we find the extraordinary coincidences, first, of the workmanship, which is decidedly *Roman*; secondly, of its form, which is that of a *Stélé* or *sepulchral pillar*; thirdly, of a circular cavity discovered upon its capital, as for the reception of *an urn*; all agreeing with its remarkable traditionary appellation of *Pompey's Pillar*. Some little variety, as might be expected, appears in the accounts given by writers of different ages, with regard to the manner in which funeral honours were rendered to Pompey's head by Julius Cæsar. Lucas's allusion to *an urn* is however consistent with the Roman custom of *burning* instead of *burying* the dead; and it is supported by the earlier testimony of Valerius Maximus. Appian, who flourished during the subsequent reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, says the head was *buried*; but he adds the remarkable fact of a *shrine* constructed over it,† in a situation exactly answering to that of this pillar, which Cæsar dedicated to *Nemesis*, the protecting goddess of the reliques and the memory of deceased persons. This, it seems, was overthrown in the time of Trajan; which may explain the cause of its restoration by Hadrian. It is also worthy of notice, that Pococke mentions a name given to this monument by Arabian historians, which bears testimony to the event recorded by Appian; inasmuch as it attributes the origin of

* "Et placate caput, cineresque in litore fusos

† Colligite, atque unam sparsis date manibus urnam."

Lucani de Bell. Civil. lib. ix. 1092. Lips. 1726.

Fabricius, in his notes to Dio Cassius (lib. xlii. Note 50.) mentions an ancient gem, the subject of which represented the bringing of Pompey's head to Cæsar. "*Icon oblatis Cæsari capitis Pompeii in veteri gemmâ apud Licetum*, p. 248.

† Την δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου προσφερομένην οὐχ ὑπῆλθον, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφῆναι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ βραχὺ, πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περιτεθὲν, ΝΕΜΕΣΕΩΣ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ ἐκαλεῖτο· ὅπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανόν, ἐξολλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας καταγεῖφθαι. "*Caput autem Pompeii oblatum aversatur Cæsar, sepeliri jussit in suburbis, sacellum que ibi dedicavit Nemeseos; quod nostrâ ætate, quum Trajanus Augustus Judæos exitiali bello persequeretur, ab his ob præsentem necessitatem est dirutum.*" Appiani Rom. Hist. De Bell. Civil. lib. ii. vol. II. p. 299. Ed. Schweigh. Lips. 1785.

the work to Julius Cæsar.* The presumptive evidence is therefore somewhat striking, as to the corresponding testimony borne by the monument itself to the funeral honours rendered to Pompey both by Julius Cæsar and by Hadrian, whatsoever be the legend of the Inscription upon its pedestal. A circumstance recorded by Dio Cassius, in his life of Hadrian, may also prove that this kind of monument was, in the age of that emperor, no unusual mark of sepulchral dignity; for when he wished to honour his horse Borysthenes with funeral rites worthy of a deceased hero, it is related that he set up a *Stélé* upon his tomb.†

From the different accounts given by historians. of the disposal of Pompey's remains, (his head being honoured with funeral rites at Alexandria,‡ and his body, according to some writers, burned and buried near Pelusium,§ while others maintain that its ashes were conveyed to Rome,||) the place of his *sepulchre* is involved in uncertainty; ** but every thing that relates to the historical evidence touching the funeral rites offered to his memory by Roman emperors in Alexandria, is clear and decisive; and when Dio Cassius relates that Hadrian, in a copy of verses which he composed, boasted he had repaired the monument formerly raised to Pompey,†† it is probable that he alluded to this *se-*

* "Some Arabian historians, on what authority I know not, call it the palace of Julius Cæsar." (*Pococke's Descript. of the East*, vol. 1. p. 8. Lond. 1743.) The authority is clearly found in the circumstance related by Appian (*De Bell. Civil. lib. ii. c. 90. Lips. 1785.*) of the shrine (*τίμνος*) constructed by Julius Cæsar at the funeral of Pompey's head.

† Καὶ ὁ Βορυσθένης ὁ ἵππος, ᾧ μάλιστα θηρῶν ἠρίσκειτο, σημεῖόν ἐστιν. ἀποθανόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον κατεσκεύασε, καὶ ΣΤΗΛΗΝ ἔθηκε καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐπέγραψεν. *Dio. Cass. Hist. Rom. vol. II. lib. lxi. p. 1159 Hamburg, 1750.*

‡ Appian. *De Bell. Civil. lib. ii. c. 90. Lips. 1785. Valerius Maximus. Lucan. De Bell. Civil. lib. ix. Lips. 1726.*

§ Strabon. *Geog. tom. II. lib. xvi. p. 1081. lib. xvii. p. 1130. Ed. Oron. 1807. Dio. Cassi. lib. xlii. c. 5. vol. I. p. 309. Hamburg, 1750. Appiani Alex. De Bellis Civil. lib. ii. p. 481. Par. 1592. Lucan. De Bell. Civil. lib. viii. &c.*

|| Τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα τοῦ Πομπηίου Κορυθαία δεξαμένη νομισθέντα, περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔθηκεν. *Plutarch in Vit. Pomp. Paris, 1624.*

** "Atque erit *Ægyptos* populis fortasse nepotum

"*Tam mendax Magni tumulo, quam Creta Tonantis.*"

Lucan. de Bell. Civil. lib. viii. p. 871. Lips. 1726.

†† Καὶ τὸ μνημα αὐτοῦ διεφθαμένον ἀνωκοδόμησεν. *Dio. Cass. Hist. Rom. lib. lxi. vol. II. Hamburg. 1750*) It should at the same time be observed, that Spartian, c. 14. together with Appian, and some other writers, speak of a restoration by Hadrian of Pompey's sepulchre, at Pelusium, near Mount Cassius; that is to say, the sepulchre of his body; the information concerning which, as derived from the ancients, is not only uncertain, but contradictory. But Appian also mentions another distinct sepulchral *τίμνος*,

pulchral pillar: bearing, beside its traditional name, the marks of *restoration*, and the most characteristic features of the purpose for which it was erected.

A few remarks, with regard to the rest of the inscription, will conclude the whole of our observations upon this magnificent and interesting monument.

The epithet at the conclusion of the third line could not be ascertained at the time the inscription was again recognised;* but there appeared to be five characters wanted. These five characters have been ingeniously supplied by a learned friend of the author,† for they are evidently the first five letters of the word CEBACTON. The præfect's name, at the beginning of the fourth line, was supposed to be Πομπήνιος; but the third letter is found to be C, and not M, and it was thus read by Pococke many years before.‡ Having therefore ΠΟC, we may read ΠΟCΤΟΜΟC. This name is found in Gruter, in several instances, written *Postumus*.§ It occurs in an inscription discovered upon an edifice which contains the famous Zodiac at *Dendera* in Upper Egypt,|| as the name of a præfect who lived under Augustus. We have, moreover, in the *Dendera inscription*, a sort of *formula* enabling us to supply the last line, which is entirely wanted. We there read the words ΟΙΑΠΟΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC, "*The people of the Metropolis*." Upon the whole, then, that has been before adduced, and with the aid of the document alluded to, it is proposed to read the inscription upon POMPEY'S PILLAR in the following manner: the reader being left to use his own judgment as to the introduction of *Hadrian's* name, or that of *Diocletian*, in the third line. We have rather preferred the former, for the reasons already given.

erected over the head of Pompey at Alexandria by Julius Cæsar. This was ruined in the time of Trajan; and it is to the restoration of this monument, by Hadrian, which Dio Cassius seems to allude, under the words *ὑψῆσα αὐτοῦ*.

* See the paper read to the society of antiquaries, Feb. 3, 1803.

† The Rev. George Adam Browne, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, the intimate friend of the late professor Porson, and of Dr. Raine, late of the charter house. Mr. Browne also proposed the substitution of Πορτομος for Πομπήνιος in the fourth line.

‡ See paper mentioned in note (*).

§ See Pococke's copy of the inscription. *Description of the East*, vol. I. p. 8. Note. (d). Lond. 1743.

|| See Gruter. Inscript. 113. 1. 172. 10. &c. &c. *Amst.* 1707.

** See Denon, Hamilton, &c. The inscription was also copied by several of our officers who came with the Indian army to Egypt. It is there written *Marcus Clodius Postumus*. Denon wrote the name ΠΟCΤΟΤΜΟC.

ΤΟΝ ΤΙΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ
 ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ
 ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝ ΟΝΤΟΝ ΟΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ
 ΠΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ
 ΚΑΙ ΟΙΑ ΠΟΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ

“POSTUMUS PRÆFECT OF EGYPT, AND THE PEOPLE OF THE METROPOLIS, (*‘honour’*) THE MOST REVERED EMPEROR, THE PROTECTING DIVINITY OF ALEXANDRIA, THE DIVINE HADRIAN AUGUSTUS.”

In the forenoon of this day, the author waited upon general Menou, requesting a passport, that might enable him to pass and repass the outer gate, to and from the British camp: and at the same time made application for permission to copy the inscriptions upon the Rosetta tablet, which was still carefully concealed. One of the aid-de-camps conducted him into a small tent, pitched in a spacious area, or square, near the inner gates of Alexandria, where the parade of the garrison was daily held. This tent, small as it was, had been separated into two parts by a curtain, behind which Menou had his *Charem*; giving audience in the outer part, near to the entrance, where there was hardly room enough to stand upright. Having waited some time, during which women's voices were heard in conversation behind the partition, the curtain was suddenly raised, and Jaques Abd'allah made his appearance. A more grotesque figure can hardly be conceived. He wore a flowered embroidered waistcoat, with flaps almost to his knees, and a coat covered with broad lace. Elevating his whiskered face and double chin, in order to give all imaginable pomp and dignity to his squat corpulent figure, which, covered with finery, much resembled that of a mountebank; he demanded in an imperious tone of voice, “*Que souhaitez-il, Monsieur Clarke?*” Having explained the cause of the visit, as far as it related to the passport, and being directed to apply for this to *Réné*, general of brigade, the author ventured to introduce the subject of the Rosetta stone; stating, that he was about to return to lord Hutchinson, and wished to obey the orders he had received from his lordship, for copying the inscription. At the very

mention of this stone, Menou gave vent to his rage; and, ready to burst with choler, exclaimed, "You may tell your commander-in-chief he has as much right to make this demand, as a highwayman has to ask for my purse! He has a cannon in each of my ears, and another in my mouth; let him take what pleases him. I have a few embroidered saddles, and a tolerable stock of shirts, perhaps he may fancy some of these!" The author assured him that he could be the bearer of no message of this kind; but whatever he might think proper to put in writing, should be carefully conveyed, and as punctually delivered. Having left the tent, and waited upon general René for the passport, while this was preparing,* a note came from Menou for lord Hutchinson. With this note the author and his companions set out for the English camp; and arriving at head-quarters, presented it to his lordship, making known at the same time all that had transpired concerning the sarcophagus from the mosque of St. Athanasius, together with the intelligence which had been obtained with regard to the other antiquities. To Menou's note his lordship disdained making any reply; transmitting only a verbal message, cautioning him to beware of sending any more messages or letters to him, but to obey the conditions proposed for the surrender of Alexandria, upon pain of having not only his own baggage, but that of all the officers of the French army, submitted to an examination. All the antiquities, without reservation, were to be delivered to the English; and to this demand was added an order for the collection of specimens belonging to natural history, and whatsoever literary acquisition had been made in Egypt for the French nation. His lordship directed that the most diligent inquiry should be made concerning every thing of this nature; and having given orders for a supply of provisions to accompany us upon our return, offered the use of his horses while we remained in Alexandria, and a groom to assist us in taking care of them. After this we had an opportunity of witnessing the sort of fare which the commander-in-chief of a British army, who had so liberally provided for others, allowed for his own use. He gave us a general invitation to his table; adding, "If you have appetite enough to dine with a soldier, you will this day have something more than usually substantial."

* See a copy of the original, in the appendix.

The dinner was served in his tent, and we sat down: it consisted of the remaining half of a cold pie, made by one of the privates the day before, containing some lumps of meat encased in a durable crust about an inch thick, of the coarsest flour: a surprising contrast to the magnificent entertainment we had experienced with the Anglo-Indian army in the Isle of Rhouda. Some of the officers informed us that such was his daily diet; and that it rarely differed from the allowance made to the common soldiers of the army. In the evening we returned. It was quite dark, and the gates were shut; but we found no difficulty in obtaining admission, by means of our passport.

Saturday, September the twelfth. This day the flesh of horses, asses, and camels, sold in the market at a price nearly equivalent to half a guinea of our money, for a single *rotola*, equal to about a pound and a quarter. Mr. Hamilton went with us to the French head quarters, and undertook to mention to Menou the result of our visit to lord Hutchinson. We remained near the outside of the tent; and soon heard the French general's voice, elevated as usual, and in strong terms of indignation remonstrating against the injustice of the demands made upon him. The words "*Jamais on n'a pillé le monde!*" diverted us highly, as coming from a leader of plunder and devastation. He threatened to publish an account of the transaction in all the gazettes of Europe; and, as Mr. Hamilton withdrew, we heard him vociferate a menace of meeting lord Hutchinson in single combat—" *Nous nous verrons, de bien près,—de bien près, je vous assure!*" However, colonel, now general Turner, who had arrived also in Alexandria, with orders from our commander-in-chief respecting the surrender of the antiquities, soon brought this matter to a conclusion. The different forts were now occupied by our army; and the condition of the garrison was such, that Menou did not deem it prudent to resist any longer: he reluctantly submitted to the loss of his literary trophies. The Rosetta Tablet was taken from a warehouse, covered with mats, where it had been deposited with Menou's baggage; and it was surrendered to us, by a French officer and a member of the Institute, in the streets of Alexandria; Mr. Cripps, Mr. Hamilton, and the author, being the only persons present, to take possession of it. The officer appointed to deliver it recommended its speedy conveyance to some place of safety, as he could not be answerable for the

conduct of the French soldiers, if it were suffered to remain exposed to their indignation. We made this circumstance known to lord Hutchinson, who gave orders for its immediate removal; and it was given in charge to general Turner, under whose direction all the monuments of Egyptian antiquity, resigned to us by the articles of the capitulation, were afterward conveyed to England.*

Every thing now seemed to indicate the speedy evacuation of the garrison by the French.† The officers and soldiers were actively employed in selling the plunder they had made. Negro slaves of both sexes, watches, jewels, horses, camels, sabres, were bartered in all parts of the city. A plain silver watch might be bought for three or four dollars; a fine Arabian horse, for about five-and-twenty. A French general sold two horses, of perfect beauty, with their saddles and bridles, to an English clergyman, chaplain in the fleet, for fifty dollars. Several valuable camels, from the great scarcity of every kind of provender, were turned adrift, to find owners without the gates; no purchasers being found who would undertake the charge of them within the walls. A better understanding, however, began to subsist, at this time, between the contending forces. Some stragglers from the French army advanced, during the day time, into the neutral ground between the two armies, and there offered their Egyptian sabres, and other articles, for sale to the English: here and there, even in the British camp, might be seen a French officer joining in conviviality with our troops: drinking toasts for the health of king George, the success of the capitulation, and a speedy deliverance from the government of Menou. The utmost harmony and good-humour prevailed at these meetings: and a sincere desire to quit the country was evident on the part of the French soldiers; every one of whom seemed to consider himself as upon an equal footing, even with the generals of his own army.‡

* See Hamilton's *Ægyptiaca*, p. 402. *Lond.* 1809.

† The first division of the French army embarked at Aboukir on the 14th of September.

‡ A Creole trumpeter, who had served under Bonaparte in his campaigns of Italy and Egypt, and pretended to have been always about his person, came one day, and asked, when the garrison of Alexandria would sail for France? As we could neither answer this question, nor were disposed to pay any attention to the account he gave of himself, he said, "If you should mention the name of *L'Esprit* to the little Corsican, you will find that I am pretty well known to him:" and, by way of proving his importance, he added, "*Quand j'arriverai à Paris, je lui ferai expliquer pourquoi il me laisse dans ce maudit pays ci.*"

In the course of this day, we visited the members of the French Institute, at the house where they held their sittings; and found them assembled round a long table inspecting and packing a number of drawings, plans, and maps.* We were very politely received, at our entrance

* The FRENCH INSTITUTE of Egypt was divided into four sections, severally consisting of the *Mathematics, Physics, Political Economy, Literature,* and the *Fine Arts.* The following persons were its members.

(Those marked with an asterisk had left Egypt at the time of our arrival.)

MATHEMATICS

| | | |
|---|-----------|------------|
| * Andreossy. | Girard. | Malus. |
| * Bonaparte. | Lancret. | * Monge. |
| Costaz. | Le Pere. | Nouet. |
| Fourier, <i>perpetual Secretary of the Institute.</i> | * Le Roy. | * Quesnot. |

PHYSICS.

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| * Beanchamp. | Delisle. | * Dubois (<i>père</i>). |
| * Berthollet. | Descotils. | Geoffroy. |
| Boudet. | Desgenettes. | Larrey. |
| Champy (<i>père</i> .) | * Bolomieu. | Savigny. |
| Conté. | | |

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

| | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------|
| Courancy. | Jacotin. | Reynier. |
| * Dugua. | * Poussielque. | Tallien. |
| * Fauvelet-Bourienne. | | |

LITERATURE and ARTS.

| | | |
|-----------|--------------|------------|
| * Denon. | * Parseval. | Rigo. |
| Dutertre. | Protain. | Bigel. |
| Le Pere. | Don Raphael. | * Ripault. |
| * Norry. | Redouté. | |

To these Sections of the Institute were also annexed the following persons, under the several heads of

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Librarians.</i> | <i>Commission of Agriculture.</i> |
| Coquebert. | Champy (<i>père</i> .) |
| Méchain. | Nectoux. |
| | Delisle. |

COMMISSION of ARTS and SCIENCES.

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Antiquaries.</i> | <i>Chemists.</i> |
| * Ripault. | * Berthollet. |
| * Pourlier. | Descotils. |
| <i>Architects.</i> | Champy (<i>père</i> .) |
| Balzac. | Champy (<i>fils</i>). |
| * Norrey. | <i>Surgeons.</i> |
| Protain. | * Dubois. |
| <i>Astronomers.</i> | Labate. |
| Nouet. | Lacypierre. |
| * Quesnot. | <i>Artist for Design.</i> |
| Méchain (<i>fils</i> .) | Dutertre. |
| <i>Botanists.</i> | <i>Geometicians.</i> |
| Nectoux. | * Monge. |
| Delisle. | Costaz. |
| Coquebert. | Fourier. |
| | Corancey. |

by Monsieur *Le Pere*, architect, director of the class of civil engineers: and we experienced from all of them that urbanity which, in despite of the impressions and prejudices caused by the consequences of hostility, and the lawless deeds of a promiscuous soldiery during the ravages of war, must yet be considered as the distinguishing characteristic of the French people, in their conduct even towards their enemies. We assured them, that although our business in Alexandria related to the literary acquisitions made for their nation by their army in Egypt, it had nothing whatsoever to do with the private collections or journals of individuals; and therefore we hoped they would allow us to compare notes with them upon certain points of observation, in which we might be mutually interested; and we further solicited permission to consult the splendid map of Egypt which their geographers had completed. This proposition was not acceded to on their part; nor, perhaps, was it reasonable, at that time, to expect that our request could be complied with. They very candidly confessed, that it would give them pleasure to satisfy our curiosity anywhere else; but that, under the present circumstances, they could only consider our inquiry as likely to lead to additional demands

Engraver.

Fouquet.

Civil Engineers.

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Le Pere. | Caristie. |
| Girard. | Favier. |
| Faye. | Dubois. |
| Le Pere (<i>Gratian.</i>) | Dezilliers. |
| Martin. | Molite. |
| Saint Genis. | Duchanoy. |
| Lancret. | Alibert. |
| Fevre. | Regnault. |
| Chabrol. | Bernard. |
| Jollois. | Potier. |
| Raffeneau. | Viard. |
| Arnolet. | |

Geographical Engineers.

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| Jacotin. | Bertre. |
| Simonel. | Leceſne. |
| Levesque. | Laroche. |
| Jomard. | Faurie. |

Engineers' Constructors.

| | |
|-----------|-----------|
| Boucher. | * Grealé. |
| Chaumont. | |

Oriental Literature.

| | |
|------------|--------|
| M. Marcel. | Raige. |
|------------|--------|

| | |
|------------|------------|
| * Joubert. | Delaporte. |
| Belletete. | |

Literati.

| | |
|-------------|----------|
| * Denon. | Lerouge. |
| * Parseval. | |

Mechanics.

| | |
|--------|-----------|
| Conté. | Coutelle. |
|--------|-----------|

Artists.

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| Adnès. (<i>père.</i>) | Adnès (<i>ſib.</i>) |
| Cécile (<i>Mechanical Engineer.</i>) | Couvreur. |
| Aimé. (<i>thematical Inst. Maker.</i>) | Lenoir (<i>Ma-</i> |
| Collin. | |

Musicians.

| | |
|--------|------------|
| Rigel. | Villoteau. |
|--------|------------|

Mineralogists.

| | |
|-------------|----------|
| * Dolomieu. | Roziere. |
| Cordier. | Dupuy. |

Naturalists.

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| Geoffroi. | Savigny. |
|-----------|----------|

Painters.

| | |
|--|--|
| Redoubte, (<i>Painter of Nat. Hiſt.</i>) | |
| Rigo. | |

Apothecaries.

| | |
|---------|------------|
| Boudet. | Rouhières. |
|---------|------------|

Sculptor.

Casteix.

on the part of our commander-in-chief; and for this reason alone they must decline acceding to our request. We had, however, a short conversation with them upon the subject of the ruins of Saïs, which their countryman Savary had mentioned among the desirable objects of discovery in Egypt;* although Egmont and Heyman had published their notice of them twenty years before Savary began the account of his travels in the country.† These ruins had altogether escaped their observation. They said that their researches had always been restricted to the march of their army, and therefore, in Lower Egypt, had been principally confined to the western side of the Nilé; that they had heard of the ruins at *S'elhajar*, but did not conceive them to be so considerable as we had found them. Being asked whether any of them had seen the interior of an Egyptian sepulchre, containing mummies, before the position of the bodies had been disturbed by the Arabs, they answered in the negative. With this information we took our leave of them, accompanied by one of the younger members of the Institute, who kindly offered to accompany us to the catacombs of NECROPOLIS, lying westward of Alexandria. These we were now desirous to examine.

Among all the antiquities of this once celebrated city, which after the destruction of Carthage ranked next to Rome in magnitude and population, the Cryptæ of Necropolis are the least known, and the most wonderful. They have been incidentally but not frequently mentioned, in the various descriptions given of Alexandria in books of modern travels;‡ but the ancients have left us much in the dark concerning their history. Strabo, indeed, after giving an account of a navigable canal which extended from the Old Port to the Lake Mareotis, carries his observations westward, and notices the catacombs, under the name of Necropolis.§ In

* See Savary's Letters on Egypt, vol. II. Lett. 73. Lond. 1786.

† Savary's first letter is dated July 24, 1777.

‡ See the "*Description de l'Égypte*," par Maillet, tom. I. p. 169. *A la Haye*, 1740. Pococke's *Descr. of the East*, vol. I. Lond. 1743. Norden's *Travels*, vol. I. p. 17. Lond. 1756, &c. Savary's Letters on Egypt, vol. I. p. 43. Lond. 1786. An extract from Savary may afford a specimen of the manner in which these catacombs have been generally noticed. This writer does not seem to have ever entered them. "At half a league's distance to the southward of the town, is the descent into the catacombs, the ancient asylum of the dead. Winding passages lead to the subterraneous grottoes where they were deposited."

§ ΕΤΘ' ἡ Νεκρόπολις, τὸ προάστειον (sic leg. Cod. MSS. Medic. Esc. et Paris. Vid. *Lect. Var. in Strabon. ed. Oxon.*) ἐν ᾧ κηποὶ τε πολλοὶ καὶ ταφαὶ καὶ κατε-

the very brief description which he has given of them, enough is said to prove that every characteristic of the most ancient cemeteries of Oriental nations belonged to them; for they were suburban, and were situated in the midst of gardens.* Enough remains also in the severe simplicity of their structure, and in the few Egyptian symbols found within them, to show that they are of earlier antiquity than the foundation of Alexandria by the Macedonians, even if we had not the most decisive evidence to prove that the regal sepulchres of the Alexandrian monarchs were within the city. As repositories of the dead they were consequently places of worship, whose dark and subterraneous caverns were aptly suited to the ideas entertained of *Hades*, the invisible abode of departed spirits.† Of such a nature was the *Serapeum* of *RACOTIS*, described as of much earlier antiquity than the temple of the same name founded by one of the Ptolemies.‡ *Racotis* was in ruins before the building of Alexandria;§

γῶραι, πρὸς τὰς ταριχείας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτίθειαι. *Strabon. Geog. lib. xxvii. p. 1128. ed. Oxon. 1807.*

* "And he was buried in his sepulchre, in the *Garden of Uzza*." (*Kings* xxi. 26.) In the same chapter, *ver. 18.* it is said of *Manasseh*, that "he slept with his fathers, and was buried in the *garden of his own house*, in the *Garden of Uzza*:" that is to say, in the garden of the sepulchre of his *own house*, or *family*; the cemeteries of the Jews exhibiting always a series of gardens, each of which belonged to some particular family. Among the Heathens such gardens were places of religious worship. Thus, in *Isaiah*, (c. lxx. 3.) "A people that provoketh me to anger continually to my face, that sacrificeth in *gardens*." An illustration is hereby suggested of a remarkable passage in *Ezekiel*, (c. xiii. 19, 20) "And will ye pollute me among my people . . . to slay the souls that should not die. . . . Behold I am against your pillows, wherewith ye there hunt the souls into *gardens*." The garden to which our Saviour alludes "*resorted with his disciples*," at the foot of the Mount of Olives, "*over the Brook Cedron*," (*John* xviii. 1, 2.) was in all probability a place for pious meditation, in the midst of Tombs; for the ancient Jewish sepulchres extend over all the base of the mountain opposite to Jerusalem. Hither he retired to pray, the night before his crucifixion. And when his body was buried, "as the manner of the Jews is to bury," (*John* xix. 40, 41.) the sepulchre wherein they laid him was in "*a garden*." The same custom of adorning cemeteries with gardens, and resorting to them for meditation and prayer, still exists among all the Eastern Jews, who write upon the tomb of a deceased person. "Let his soul be in the *garden of Eden*;" also among the Moslems over all the Turkish empire. It is said also of the Mexicans (*See Purchas's Pilgrim*, p. 804. *Lond: 1614.*) "The places where they buried them were their gardens."

† Καλοῦμεν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον καὶ Σάραπιν τὸν αἰδῶ δηλονότι. πρὸς δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν πορεῖσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν βιωσάντων, ἀρίστα καὶ δικαιοτάτα. "Quem nos alio nomine Serapim vocamus, ut qui est αἰδῶς, sub aspectum minimè cadens: ad quem Plato sublimes ait evehi illorum animas, qui quam optimè justissimèque vixerunt." *Julianus Imp. Orat. iv. p. 136. Vid. Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. tom. I. p. 237. Francof. 1750.*

‡ "Fuerat illic sacellum Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus sacratum." *Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. 84.*

§ "Nam *Racotis*, quæ postea nonnisi suburbium *Alexandriæ* fuit, diu ante

and the *Cryptæ* of Necropolis, from their situation, can be attributed only to that ancient city.* Having before shown that the worship of *Serapis* in Egypt was long anterior to the introduction of an idol under that name by Ptolemy Soter,† as related by Tacitus,‡ and also mentioned the authorities which refer its origin to the death of the Patriarch Joseph,§ it will be proper briefly to notice the opinion of Jablonski, as to this part of the Egyptian mythology; because a symbol which we discovered, forming a central and conspicuous ornament of the Catacombs, may seem to strengthen his opinion, and thereby show that here was the Serapeum of Racotis. He endeavours to prove, from various authorities, but principally by a passage which he has cited from the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius,|| that SERAPIS was a type of the *infernal sun*; that is to say, of the sun during its course through the *lower hemisphere*, or winter signs of the Zodiac; as AMMON was of the *supernal*, or path of the sun during the summer months.** Hence the name of *Hades*, bestowed upon *Serapis* by the Emperor Julian††, and the analogy between this deity and the Pluto of the Greeks.‡‡ According to Macrobius, the Egyptians were wont to represent the sun, in their winged images of that luminary, with two

urbem hanc regiam ab Alexandro erectam, illic steterat. *Vid. Jablonski Pantheon Ægyptiorum*, tom. I. p. 231. *Francof.* 1750. Also the authors by him cited. Pausanias, lib. v. p. 432. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 545. Plinius, lib. v. c. 10. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protreptico*, p. 31. Stephanus *Ethnographus*, n. voce 'Παῦρnis, &c. &c.

* Jablonski, &c. ubi supra.

† See Chap. V. p. 128, Note (||) of this volume. In addition to the evidence there offered for the antiquity of the worship of *Serapis* in Egypt, may be also cited the following powerful argument, as urged by Cuper in his *Harpocrates*, p. 83. *Utrecht*, 1687. "Anti advectum ex Ponto Serapim, alius in Ægypto eodem nomine deus colebatur. Pausanias, lib. i. scribit Athenienses Serapidis cultum a Ptolemæo accepisse, et templum ejus ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ εἶναι Alexandrinis, ἀρχαῖον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει: unde absque dubio sequitur, ANTE PTOLEMEUM Lagi F. si is, ut plerique tradunt, Sinopensem deum advehi curavit, SERAPIN IN ÆGYPTO CULTUM FUISSE."

‡ Tacit. *Histor.* lib. iv. cap. 84.

§ See Chap. V. of this volume, as above cited.

|| "Hoc argumentum Ægyptii lucidius absolvunt, ipsius solis simulaera pinnata fingentes; quibus color apud illos non unus est. Alterum enim cæruleâ specie, alterum clarâ fingunt; ex his clarum superum, et cæruleum inferum vocant. Inferi autem nomen Soli datur, cum in inferiore hemisphærio, id est hyematibus signis, cursum suum peragit; superi, cum partem Zodiaci ambit æstivam." *Macrobius Saturnal.* lib. i. c. 19.

** "Sol superus et clarus est AMMON. Sol cæruleus et inferus est, ut mihi persuasadeo, SERAPIS." *Jablonski. Panth. Ægypti.* tom. I. p. 235. *Francof.* 1750.

†† See the observation of Julian upon *Serapis*, as before cited. See also *Cyrill. Alexand. adversus Julian.* p. 13.

‡‡ "Scriptores plerique, ubi ad *Serapidem* corem deflectit oratio, eum ferẽ

colours;* one being *white*, as typical of *Ammon* or the *supernal sun*; the other *blue*, to denote *Serapis*, or the sun's descent into *Hades* during winter, when it received the appellation of *infernal*.† It is a very curious circumstance, that the distinctions of colour mentioned by Macrobius may be noticed in all the mythological paintings of the Tartars, the Chinese, and the people of Japan, where an image of the sun is introduced; but with this difference, that the colours, instead of being *white* and *blue*, are *white* and *red*.‡ The inhabitants of some parts of India, as it is well known, who are worshippers of the Sun, revere the *invisible* as well as the *visible* luminary; the former of which answers to the ΑΙΔΗΣ and ΑΟΠΑΤΟΣ of the Egyptians and the Greeks § This notion of Jablonski concerning Serapis is by him opposed to an opinion of the fathers, which maintained that Serapis was a symbol of Joseph; but even admitting it to be true in its fullest extent, it will rather serve to confirm that opinion, if attention be paid to the titles which the Egyptians were accustomed to bestow upon their deified princes. The language of the valuable inscription on the Rosetta Tablet will set this truth in a very clear point of view; we there find the deceased sovereign mentioned as being,|| “ LIKE THE GREAT VUL-

semper *Plutonem* interpretari soliti fuerint.” *Jablonski, ubi supra*, p. 236. See also the authors by him cited *Diodorus*, lib. i. p. 22. *Clemens Alexandr. in Protreptico*, passim. *Eusebius, Præparat. Evang* lib. iii. c. 11. p. 113. *Porphyrius Julianus, Imp. Orat.* 4. p. 136. *Cyrrill. Alexandr. lib. i. in Julian* p. 13. *Aristides, Oratione in Serapim*, passim.

* Vid. Macrobi. *Saturnal. ubi supra*.

† Hence, perhaps, the very ancient superstition of the *blue* colour of flame at the approach of departed spirits, coming from *Hades*. One of the witches in *Macbeth*, begins her incantation, “ *Blue spirits and white* !” &c.

‡ The reader may see such representations in the engravings made from the sacred pictures of the Calmuck tribes. (*Part I. of these Travels*, p. 244, *second edit.*) In three of those pictures, this double representation of the Sun is introduced; although the plate has not been coloured, and the minutiae of the distinction were little attended to by the engraver. In the original drawings, one orb is *red*, and the other *white*. The author at first supposed they were intended for the *Sun* and *Moon*.

§ Φάξτε τὸν πάντων ὑπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν ἰάω,
Χείματι μὲν τ' αἰδῶν, Δία δ' εἰσας ἀρχομένοιο
Ἥλιον δὲ Σίγῃς.—

Dic Deorum omnium supremum esse *Iao*,
Quem hyeme *orcum* vocant, ineunte autem vere *Jovem*,
Æstate porro *Solem*.—

“ Jam bene intelligitur, quam bene et recte auctor versuum allatorum assermet, *Solem* ab Ægyptiis, tempore hyberno vocari αἰδῶν, cum, qui non videtur, quoniam nempe lux ejus, illo anni tempore, sub terram demersa est. Eundem PSEUDO CALLISTHENES dixit ἀόρατον τοῦ Σινωπίου, *invisiblem in Sinopia*. EUSTATHIUS vero, eodem loco allatus, testatur *Serapim in Sinopia Memphis coli*.” *Jablonsk. Panth. Ægypt.* tom. I. pp. 236. 238. *Francof.* 1750.

|| Καθάρσε δ' Ἡρακλῆς ὁ μέγας.

CAN." He is said to be **EVEN AS THE SUN, THE GREAT KING OF THE UPPER AND LOWER REGIONS,*** and his successor is called **SON OF THE SUN.†** If therefore the **SUN** in *Hades*, according to the most ancient mythology of Egypt, was called **SERAPIS**, Joseph having descended *thither*, and being "**EVEN AS THE SUN**," according to a style of deification which was invariable in Egypt, where the customs of the country were almost as unalterable as its climate, would receive the appellation of **SERAPIS**, after the same manner in which the name of **VULCAN**, father of the *Sun*,‡ was, so many ages after, applied to Ptolemy, by the priests of Egypt.

We will detain the reader no longer with such observations; but proceed to a survey of the surprising repositories that have given rise to them, and which received among the ancients the appropriate appellation of the "*City of the Dead*." Nothing so marvellous ever fell within our observation: but in Upper Egypt, perhaps, works of a similar nature may have been found. The *Cryptæ* of Jerusalem, Tortosa, Jebilee, Laodicea, and Telmessus,§ are excavations of the same kind, but far less extensive. They enable us, however, to trace the connexion which anciently existed in the sepulchral customs of all the nations bordering the eastern coast of the Mediterranean; from the shores of Carthage and of Cyrene, to Egypt, to Palestine, to Phœnicia, and to Asia Minor. An inclination common to man, in every period of his history, but particularly in the patriarchal ages, of being finally "gathered unto his fathers," may explain the prodigious labour bestowed in the construction of these primeval sepulchres. Wheresoever the roving Phœnicians extended their colonies, whether to the remotest parts of Africa, or of Europe, even to the most distant islands of their descendants the Celtæ in the northern ocean, the same

* Καθ' ὡς ὁ ἥλιος μέγας βασιλεὺς τῶν τε ἀνω καὶ τῶν τε κάτω χώρων. The word χώρων, in this inscription, has been usually translated *districts*, with reference to the division of Egypt into *upper* and *lower*; but this division is of modern date; and the **SUN** would hardly be styled "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt*." The expression seems to be metaphorical, and rather applicable to the ancient notions concerning *Sol Superus* and *Sol Inferus*; as mentioned by Macrobius.

† Τὸν τοῦ ἥλιου

‡ See note

§ See chap. XVI. of the former section of part II. of these travels, p. 331, &c. also the observations in note (§), p. 332, as to the situation of such sepulchres.

rigid and religious adherence to this early practice may yet be noticed.*

The Alexandrian guides to the catacombs will not be persuaded to enter them without using the precaution of a clue of thread, in order to secure their retreat. We were, therefore, provided with a ball of twine to answer this purpose; and also with a quantity of wax tapers, to light us in our passage through these dark chambers. They are situated about half a league along the shore, to the westward of the present city. The whole coast exhibits the remains of other sepulchres, that have been violated, and are now in ruins. The name of *Cleopatra's Bath* has been given to an artificial reservoir, into which the sea has now access; but for what reason it has been so called, cannot be ascertained; it is a basin hewn out of the rock; and if it ever was intended for a bath, it was, in all probability, a place where they washed the bodies of the dead before they were embalmed. Shaw maintained that the *Cryptæ* of Necropolis were not intended for the reception of mummies, or embalmed bodies;† in which he is decidedly contradicted by the text of Strabo.‡ Perhaps he was one of those who had been induced to adopt an erroneous opinion that mummies were placed upright upon their feet in Egyptian sepulchres, and therefore was at a loss to reconcile the horizontal position of the *Thecæ* with his preconceived notions. We shall presently have very satisfactory evidence as to the manner in which embalmed bodies were laid, when deposited within these tombs by the inhabitants of Egypt, before the foundation of Alexandria. The original entrance to them is now closed, and it is externally concealed from observation. The only place whereby admittance to the interior is practicable, may be found facing the sea, near an angle towards the north: it is a small aperture, made through the soft and sandy rock, either by burrowing animals, or by men for the pur-

* Among the wild Irish, every avocation yields to the paramount duty of conveying a corpse to its destination, whatsoever may be the distance of the place designed for its interment. When the bearer arrive with a coffin, which, in order to fulfil the wishes of the deceased, is to be carried to some distant part of the country, they deposite it in the middle of the first village or town at which they rest, whence it is immediately forwarded by others who become its voluntary supporters.

† "The *Cryptæ*, &c. were not intended for the reception of mummies, or embalmed bodies." *Shaw's Travels*, p. 293. *Lond.* 1757.

‡ Καὶ καταργαί, πρὸς τὰς ταφικὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν. *Strabon. Geogr.* lib. xvii. p. 1128. *Oxon.* 1807.

pose of ransacking the cemetery. This aperture is barely large enough to admit a person upon his hands and knees. Here it is not unusual to encounter jackals, escaping from the interior, when alarmed by any person approaching: on this account the guides recommend the practice of discharging a gun, or pistol, to prevent any sally of this kind. Having passed this aperture with lighted tapers, we arrived, by a gradual descent, in a square chamber, almost filled with earth: to the right and left of this are smaller apartments, chiseled in the rock: each of these contains on either side of it, except that of the entrance, a *Soros* or the reception of a mummy; but, owing to the accumulation of sand in all of them, this part of the catacombs cannot be examined without great difficulty. Leaving the first chamber, we found a second of still larger dimensions, having four *cryptæ* with *Soroi*, two on either side, and a fifth at its extremity towards the south-east. From hence, penetrating towards the west, we passed through another forced aperture, which conducted us into a square chamber without any receptacles for dead bodies; thence, pursuing a south-western course, we persevered in effecting a passage, over heaps of sand, from one chamber to another, admiring everywhere the same extraordinary effects of labour and ingenuity, until we found ourselves bewildered with so many passages, that our clue of thread became of more importance than we at first believed it would prove to be. At last we reached the stately antechamber of the principal sepulchre, which had every appearance of being intended for a regal repository. It was of a circular form, surmounted by a beautiful dome, hewn out of the rock, with exquisite perfection, and the purest simplicity of workmanship. In a few of the chambers we observed pilasters, resembling, in their style of architecture, the Doric, with architraves, as in some of the most ancient sepulchres near Jerusalem; but they were all integral parts of the solid rock. The dome covering the circular chamber was without ornament; the entrance to it being from the north-west. Opposite to this entrance was a handsome square crypt with three *Soroi*; and to the right and left were other *cryptæ*, similarly surrounded with places

for the dead. *Hereabouts* we observed the remarkable symbol, sculptured in relief, of *an orb with extended wings*.*

It is to this hieroglyphical sign that allusion was before made; for this seems evidently to represent the *subterraneous Sun*, or SOL INFERUS, as mentioned by Macrobius;† and if the latter be *Serapis*, as it is maintained to be by Jablonski,‡ we have almost a proof that the circular shrine was the ancient *Serapeum* of Racotis, alluded to by Tacitus.§ All the rest of the history of these catacombs seems to be involved in darkness, impervious as that which pervades every avenue of the excavated chambers. We endeavoured to penetrate farther towards the south-west and south, and found that another complete wing of the vast fabric extended in those directions, but the labour of the research was excessive. The *cryptæ* upon the south-west side corresponded with those which we have described towards the north-east. In the middle between the two, a long range of chambers extended from the central and circular shrine, towards the northwest; and in this direction appears to have been the principal and original entrance. Proceeding towards it, we came to a large room in the middle of the fabric, between the supposed *Serapeum* and the main outlet, or portal, towards the sea. Here the workmanship was very elaborate; and to the right and left were chambers, with receptacles ranged parallel to each other. Farther on, in the same direction, is a passage with galleries and spacious apartments on either side; perhaps the KATAΓΩΓΑΙ mentioned by Strabo for embalming the dead; or the chambers belonging to the priests, who constantly officiated in the *Serapeum*. In the front it is a kind of *vestibulum*, or porch; but it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain precisely the nature of the excavation towards the

* The author has said "*hereabouts*," from the circumstance of finding it stated in one of colonel Squire's letters to his brother, dated Alexandria, Christmas-day, 1801, that he saw "*a crescent*" over the entrance to the circular chamber, and that it is perhaps on that account vulgarly called "*the Temple of Diana*." Perhaps colonel Squire mistook the orb for a crescent, by discerning only a part of the symbol above mentioned. The author's description of the interior of these catacombs was of necessity written from memory; it being almost impossible to make notes while exploring them. He certainly saw the symbol of the *orb with wings*, as he has described it: but whether it were over the entrance to the circular temple, or within the dome of the temple over the entrance to the "*handsome square crypt*," mentioned above, he cannot positively affirm.

† Saturnalia, lib. i. c. 19.

‡ Panth. Egypt. tom. I. p. 235. *Francof.* 1750.

§ Tacit. Histor. lib. iv. c. 84.

main entrance, from the manner in which it is now choked with earth and rubbish. If this part were laid open, it is possible that something further would be known as to the design of the undertaking; and, at all events, one of the most curious of the antiquities of Egypt would then be exposed to the investigation it merits. Having passed about six hours in exploring, to the best of our ability, these gloomy mansions, we regained, by means of our clue, the aperture by which we had entered, and quitted them for ever.

We have now concluded almost all that relates to our residence in Alexandria, and to our observations in Egypt. A journey to the *Oasis* would have been a desirable completion of the African part of our travels; but our friend Mr. Hammer, in whose company we hoped to have made it, had left the country; and neither our health nor the disposition of the Arabs were favourable to the undertaking. We forbear from noticing many interesting objects of curiosity in Alexandria, particularly its prodigious cisterns, which are coëval with the city, because they have so often been described. The difficulty of "knowing when to have done," is perhaps never more sensibly felt, than in a territory so fertile of resources as that we are now leaving. The time is, perhaps, not distant, when Alexandria alone, a city once so vain of its great reputation, and the rank it held among the pagan states, shall again become the resort, if not the resting-place, of learned men, who will dedicate their time and their talents to a better investigation of its interesting antiquities.* So little are we acquainted with its valuable remains, that not a single excavation for purposes of discovery has yet been begun; nor is there any thing published with regard to its modern history, excepting the observations that have resulted from the hasty survey made of its forlorn and desolated havens, by a few travellers whose transitory visits ended almost with the days of their arrival.† Scarcely had we felt the importance of more accurate and careful inquiry, than, like our predecessors, we also prepared for our de-

* A local work of this kind, restricted entirely to the antiquities of Alexandria, might complete one of the most splendid and valuable publications which have yet been added to the archives of taste and of literature.

† A very curious instance is afforded by Bruce, who wrote an account of Alexandria, and, literally, did not spend one entire day in the city. He was at sea on the morning of the twentieth of June 1768, previously to his landing at Alexandria; (See *Bruce's Travels*, vol. I. p. 7. *Edinb.* 1790.) and in the afternoon he left that city for Rosetta.

parture. A long track lay before us; and in order to do something *everywhere*, it was necessary to rest *nowhere*. A few days before the French garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, we set out upon a visit to the Capudan Pasha, who was encamped, with the Turkish troops, in the rear of the British army. He had promised us a passage, on board a Turkish frigate, to any part of the Archipelago; and we hastened to receive a letter from him to the captain, previously to the vessel's sailing for Constantinople. As soon as we reached the Pasha's tent, he asked after the author's brother, captain Clarke, and desired to see him. Being told that he had sailed with a part of the French army to Marseilles, he solicited that we would oblige him by conveying a verbal message to sir Richard Bickerton, then in the old port of Alexandria. This message contained nothing less than a request that the Turkish fleet might have permission to enter that port before the surrender of the city to the English army. We had consequently to return back to Alexandria, and give up our own business for the present.

Arriving on board sir Richard's ship, we delivered our message, and were invited into his cabin to dinner; but being desirous of carrying back his answer that evening, we declined his kind offer. He had before positively refused the same request from the pasha; its renewal was therefore troublesome, and even impertinent; for it was well known to sir Richard, and to lord Keith, that it had no other design for its basis than the payment of the Turkish *Galcon-gies* by the plunder of the city. The Capudan Pasha was a person upon whom no reliance could be placed, although he had not then manifested all the atrocity of his character by the murder of the beys:* however, he received us with

* This happened soon after our departure. The circumstances are thus detailed by colonel Squire, who was an eye-witness of the transaction, in a letter to his brother, the rev. E. Squire, dated Alexandria, October 31, 1801. None of the real or supposed massacres of Bonaparte can be said to have equalled this in treachery or atrocity.

"We are now engaged in a sort of warfare with the Turks. Before this arrives, you will have heard the cause: but as you may wish to have an accurate account of this horrible affair, I shall detail to you the principal circumstances. The Capudan Pasha, whose encampment was in the rear of the English, wrote to some of the Beys at Cairo, requesting them to honour him with a visit. They accepted his invitation, although they had been frequently admonished by sir J. (*now lord*) Hutchinson, not to engage in too great an intimacy with the Turks. They were escorted from Rosetta to the camp of Alexandria by an English guard, and they remained with

great politeness, but returned this brief and pithy answer; that "*the first Turkish ship which presumed to enter, before*

the pasha under our immediate protection. Two days previous to their intended return to Cairo, the pasha proposed an excursion to Alexandria. During their visit, the Turk had loaded them with every pretended proof of civility and kindness. The very day on which this dastardly assassin perpetrated his black design, he swore by his beard, in presence of the beys who were breakfasting at his table, and by the holy koran which was before him, that he was their firm friend and supporter. When the entertainment was nearly concluded, an attendant came into the pasha's tent, to inform his highness that a sufficient number of horses and trappings could not be procured for the whole of the retinue. The pasha, hearing this, pretended to be highly incensed at the messenger—"However," said he, "*gentlemen, we will not be disappointed in our excursion; my boats are in the lake, close to the camp, and we may proceed to Alexandria by water, where your mamalukes, and my attendants, may meet us in the city.*" The cunning of this is evident: he separates the beys from their body-guard, that there may be no prospect of an effectual resistance. The poor unsuspecting beys embarked with the pasha, and, attended by four or five boats, steered towards the inundation. Scarcely had they advanced a quarter of a mile from the shore, when a boat arrived, with a messenger who pretended to have a particular despatch for the pasha from Constantinople. The Turk immediately opening the letter, apologized to the beys, saying that he was obliged to answer the despatch, but that he would afterwards follow them to Alexandria. In this manner he left the beys, and returned in the small boat to the camp; by this artifice avoiding the exposure of his own person in the scuffle that was to ensue. Shortly after his departure, the boats alter their course, and steer for Aboukir Bay, with an intention of putting the beys on board the *Sultan Selim*, there at anchorage. The beys now perceived the whole design of this dark plot. They first remonstrated; then resisted; and, exclaiming they were betrayed, a discharge of musketry was poured upon them from two or three of the boats. Endeavouring to defend themselves, they were attacked by the crew of the pasha's boat with swords. Notwithstanding all this, they fought manfully with their poniards. OSMAN BEY TOMBOURGEE, successor to MOURAD BEY, received seventeen wounds. The event of this affair was, that of seven beys, and a *cashef*, or *prime minister*, two were killed with the *cashef*, one was most cruelly wounded, and two were drowned. Two only remain, who were made prisoners by the hired assassins of the pasha. The whole of this transaction being reported to sir J. (*now lord*) Hutchinson, he immediately waited upon the pasha at the head of his troops, and, after calling him, to his face, *liar, coward, villain, assassin*, and using every menace and other opprobrious expression until the mean traitor burst into tears, he demanded the bodies of the beys; of those who were dead, as well as of the living. Thus intimidated by the spirited behaviour of the English general, the pasha delivered up the three dead bodies, together with the persons of the living. The three bodies were interred with military honours within the city. Thus the English have taken a very decided part in favour of the mamalukes, and God knows what will be the event. We are in complete possession of Alexandria; no armed Turk is permitted to enter the town. The same sort of scene has been attempted at Cairo. The vizier pretended to invite the beys, and to present them with pelisses; they have all been seized, although I have not yet heard that any violence has been offered to their persons. Sir J. Hutchinson has threatened, it is said, to march an army against the vizier, if he do not immediately release the beys from their confinement. Whatever may have been the policy of England, our GENERAL HAS CONDUCTED HIMSELF WITH HONOUR AND PROPRIETY. He could not have remained an inactive spectator of such base transactions. The beys were under his immediate protection; therefore,

the city was surrendered, would instantly be sunk." It was toward sun-set when the author reached once more the magnificent Turkish pavilion of audience, stationed on the borders of the lake of Aboukir, near to the place where the sluices were cut through the canal of Alexandria, for inundating the old bed of the lake Mareotis. The pasha was out on horse-back; and the officers of the pavilion, drawn up in two lines, from the entrance of the tent to the rich cushions placed for the pasha at the upper extremity, were amusing themselves with the tricks of a fool kept by the pasha, who was mimicking the state ceremonies of his master when giving audience; consequently, one of his frolicks was to receive the author as if the pasha had been present. This unusual facetiousness on the part of the Turks was soon put to flight by the arrival of the great man himself, with his interpreter; who no sooner heard the answer to his message, than, acting with much less dignity than his buffoon, he *spat* on the ground,* stamped, and, abruptly quitting the tent, hurried on board a covered boat upon the lake, in which he was accustomed to pass the night, and made his appearance no more on that evening. All hopes of a passage on board the frigate seemed therefore for a moment at an end. But Isaac Bey, the capudan pasha's interpreter and secretary, conducted the author to his own tent, and, pleading a sudden indisposition on the part of his master, promised to accommodate matters; begging, at the same time, that his behaviour might not be noticed at head-quarters, and desiring that we would come again upon the sixteenth.

A curious adventure befel us upon our return for the second time this evening, Monday, September the fourteenth, into Alexandria. The English sentinels had advanced from their former stations, close to the gates of the garrison, the

by the common laws of hospitality, he was bound to declare himself their guardian. *His own honour, and that of his country, were pledged for their safety.* I saw this INFAMOUS TRANSACTION from our camp. I was witness to the firing of the musketry; but not suspecting what was passing, I did not take particular notice of the circumstance." *Colonel Squire's 'MS. Correspondence.*

* The malediction of the Turks, as of other Oriental nations, is frequently expressed in no other way than by *spitting on the ground*, of which an instance will be related in the next chapter. May not this explain the reason why our Saviour, (who taught to "bless, and curse not," and who, in the annihilation of heathen superstitions, frequently made the outward sign subservient to opposite purposes of grace and benevolence,) when he healed the blind and the deaf, is said to have "*spat on the ground.*" See *John* ix. 6. *Mark* vii. 33. and viii. 23. See also a note in chap. IX. Part I. of these Travels, where allusion is made to this custom, as practised at a Russian Christening.

first division of the French army having this day embarked at Aboukir. The *word* for the night, as given by the French general for passing the gates, was "*Citoyen*." As the author rode up to the Rosetta Gate, hearing a distant challenge somewhat indistinctly, and supposing he had passed all the English sentinels, he gave the French *word* as he had been instructed to do. Presently drawing nearer, he was able to discern a soldier levelling his musket at his breast, exclaiming at the same time, with a broad Scotch dialect, "*Wha's that says Citoyen?—gee the richt word, or you're a deed mon!*"—Had this happened during the negotiation for the surrender of the city, the honest Highlander would not perhaps have acted with so much forbearance; but the French and the English sentinels were then standing close to each other, and it was probably nothing more than a vaunt of his patriotism in the presence of his enemy. Some difficulty too occurred at the inner gates, which had never before happened; the sentinels there refusing to lower the drawbridge without a written order from Menou. We offered to show our passport, signed by general *Réné*, but must have passed the night upon the sands, if one of our party had not resorted to a stratagem, and pretended being the bearer of despatches to the French commander-in-chief. We were then allowed to enter; and being conducted by a sentinel to head-quarters, were permitted, after explaining what had happened, to return to our lodgings.

The fifteenth was passed chiefly in taking leave of our friends, and in preparations for our voyage in Greece. We obtained permission, through the kindness of signior Fontossi, from whom we received many civilities, to trace with a pencil a beautiful plan of the catacombs of Necropolis, which had been finished by one of the chief engineers belonging to the French Institute. A poor negro girl, who had been sold as a slave* to some Frenchman, endeavoured this day to throw herself from a very high window; but being alarmed in the attempt, by the depth below her, held by her hands, and remained suspended in that situation until her cries brought some persons to her assistance.

* The officers of the French army purchased a number of these slaves. The negro women were particularly in request among them, and many were conveyed to France. The cause of this singular taste has been explained by one of their own savans, in the Appendix to Peltier's edition of Denon's Travels.

CHAP. VIII.

ALEXANDRIA TO COS.

Preparations for leaving Egypt—Journey to Aboukir—Cities of Nicopolis, Taposiris Parva, and Canopus—Uncertainty of their topography—Thonis—Changes which have taken place upon the coast—Heraclium—Aboukir Bay—Turkish Frigate—Persons composing her Crew—Discipline at Sea—Bay of Finica—Meteoric Phenomena—Eastern coast of Rhodes—Lindus—Southern shores of Asia Minor—Bay of Marmora—Rhodes—Cos—Town of Stanchio—Situation of the French Consul—Ancient sculpture—Inscriptions—Asclepiæum—Votive offerings—Singular article of the Mahometan Law—Population, commerce, and produce of Cos.

IN the morning of September the sixteenth we left Alexandria; taking back our horses, &c. to the British camp. A *Chiaoux*, or constable of the Turkish army, rode with us from the gates. This man expressed great indignation that the French were permitted to capitulate for the surrender of the place: he said it was very evident that the *Djowrs* (Infidels) were all acting in concert with each other, and that their apparent enmity was a mere device to deceive the Turks. Being asked what the Turks would have done, if the whole management had been left to them, he answered, "*We should have cut off all their heads, to be conveyed to the grand Signior; or have stripped them naked, and turned them into the desert.*" In our way through the British camp, we called upon lord Hutchinson, and endeavoured to express our gratitude for the unceasing patronage bestowed by him, from the moment of our first arrival in Egypt, in the midst of his other important avocations; and we hope that this now disinterested memorial may show that his kindness has not been forgotten. We then visited a few other friends, who were rejoicing in the prospect of a speedy termination to one of the severest campaigns which British soldiers are likely to encounter—a termination, too, that covered them with glory. The number of the enemy expelled by our army from Egypt, after all the losses he had sustained, was greater than the aggregate of the English combined forces when they

were first landed at Aboukir.* It was a contest against veteran troops, under every circumstance of privation; a species of warfare to which our soldiers were unaccustomed; carried on against men who were in full possession of the territory, were inured to the unhealthiness of the climate, and had all the advantages of position. Succeeding generations may, indeed, exult in the triumph thus obtained for our country; for, so long as the annals of our empire shall remain, it shall be said, that "lance to lance, and horse to horse," the legions of France, who had boasted themselves to be *invincible*, fled, or fell before the youth of Britain.

From the British, we went to the Turkish camp; and again had an audience of the Capudan Pasha. He had recovered his composure; and he gave us three letters; one to the captain of his own ship, the *Sultan Selim*; a second to the captain of the frigate in which we were to sail; and a third to the governor of Rhodes, containing, as he said, an order for boats to take us either to Stanchio, or to Scio. Thus provided, we continued our journey to Aboukir, along the sandy neck of land which stretches, in the shape of a ribbon, from the place where our army landed, entirely to Alexandria; having the lake of Aboukir upon our right, and the sea upon our left. The whole of this tract is a desert, interspersed here and there with a few plantations of palm-trees. The dates hung from these trees in such large and tempting clusters, although not quite ripe, that we climbed to the tops of some of them, and carried away with us large branches,† with their fruit. In this manner dates are sometimes sent, with the branches, as presents to Constantinople. A ripe Egyptian date, although a delicious fruit, is never refreshing to the palate. It suits the Turks, who are fond of sweetmeats of all kinds; and its flavour is not unlike that of the conserved green citron which is brought from Madeira. The largest plantation occurred about half-way between Alexandria and Aboukir, whence our army marched to attack the French on the thirteenth of March: the trees here were

* "When we landed, the effective force of our army did not exceed 15,000 men. The French, an enemy well established in a country full of resources, embarked from Cairo 13,000; from Alexandria (*mirabile dictu*!) 10,000.† We must perhaps deduct 5000, for the civil tribe and the merchants, who followed the army: there will then remain 18,000 for their effective force." *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence. Letter dated Alexandria, Oct. 5, 1801.*

† The leaves of these trees, when grown to a size for bearing fruit, are six or eight feet long; and may be termed branches, for the trees have no other.

very lofty, and, from the singular formation of their bark, we found it as easy to ascend to the tops of these trees as to climb the steps of a ladder. Wherever the date tree is found in these dreary deserts, it not only presents a supply of salutary food, for men and camels,* but nature has so wonderfully contrived the plant, that its first offering is accessible to man alone; and the mere circumstance of its presence, in all seasons of the year, is a never-failing indication of fresh water near its roots. Botanists describe the trunk of the date tree as full of rugged knots;† but the fact is, that it is full of cavities, the vestiges of its decayed leaves, which have within them a horizontal surface, flat and even, exactly adapted to the reception of the human feet and hands; and it is impossible to view them without believing that HE, who in the beginning fashioned “EVERY TREE, IN THE WHICH IS THE FRUIT OF A TREE YIELDING SEED” as “MEAT FOR MAN,” has here manifested one among the innumerable proofs of his beneficent design. The extensive importance of the date-tree is one of the most curious subjects to which a traveller can direct his attention. A considerable part of the inhabitants of Egypt, of Arabia, and Persia, subsist almost entirely upon its fruit. They boast also of its medicinal virtues. Their camels feed upon the date-stones. From the leaves they make couches, baskets, bags, mats, and brushes; from the branches, cages for their poultry, and fences for their gardens; from the fibres of the boughs, thread ropes, and rigging; from the sap is prepared a spirituous liquor; and the body of the tree furnishes fuel: it is even said that from one variety of the palm tree, the *Phoenix farinifera*, meal has been extracted, which is found among the fibres of the trunk, and has been used for food.§ We cut off a few *djerids*,|| and sent them to serve as walking-sticks for some friends in England, as memorials of the heroism displayed by our troops upon the sands where they grew. Beneath these trees, we found some of

* The Arabs feed their camels with the date-stones, after grinding them in their hand mills.

† See *Phoenix dactylefera*. Martyn's Edit. of Miller's Dict. Lond. 1807.

‡ Gen. i. 29.

§ See *Roxburgh's Plants of Coromandel*, as published by the East-India Company, under the direction of sir Joseph Banks. Lond. 1795.

|| The name given by the Turks and Arabs to the *midrib*, or longitudinal stem of the leaf of the palm-tree. Hence the name of *Djerid*, given to the equestrian sport wherein short staves are thrown by the combatants: these were originally *Djerids*; but this name is now common to all short sticks used as darts in that game.

the smaller cannon-shot used by the French, when driven by our troops along this sandy district. Nothing can exceed the dreary nature of all the prospect between Alexandria and Aboukir, if we except these plantations: yet in this narrow maritime tract,* the whole of which may be comprehended in one *bird's-eye* view, were situated the cities of *Nicopolis*, *Taposiris*, *Parva*, and *Canopus*, mentioned by Strabo.† A person actually surveying the country considers the fact as scarcely credible; for where, in this confined and desert space, could those cities have been placed? Notwithstanding the very general observation to which the whole district has been recently exposed, nothing is less decided than the locality of any one of those places. Until lately, we had not the smallest idea of the geography of this part of Egypt; and even now, when we are become acquainted with it, it exhibits only a long ridge of sand, extending east and west, for about a dozen or fifteen miles, which seems liable, at every instant, to be washed into the sea.‡ If as some have supposed,§ Aboukir denote the site of *Canopus*, the ruins engraved by Denon|| under that name may have belonged to *Parva Taposiris*;** or to the ancient *fane*, alluded to by

* The shape of it may be compared to that of a *band* or *girdle*; and it is worthy of remark, that Strabo, speaking of the district between the sea and the Canopic Canal, uses the expression *σενή τις ταινία*: whether with reference to the territory between Alexandria and Aboukir, or not, others may determine.

† Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διωρυγὰν τὴν ἐπὶ Σχιδίαν ἀγούσαν, ὁ ἑξῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κάνωσον πλοῖς ἐστὶ παράλληλος τῇ παραλίᾳ, τῇ ἀπὸ Φάρου μέχρι τοῦ Κανωσικοῦ στόματος· στήνῃ γὰρ τις ταινία μεταξύ διήκει τοῦ τε πελάγους καὶ τῆς διωρυγος, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν ἡ τε μικρὰ Τάποςις, μετὰ τὴν Νικόπολιν καὶ τὸ Ζεφύριον· ἀπὸ τῆς νάϊσκον ἔχουσα Ἀρσινόης Ἀφροδίτης· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν, καὶ θῶνιν τινα πόλιν ἐνταῦθα φασιν· κ. τ. λ. “Post fossam, quæ Schediam et Canopum ducit, est navigatio secundum maritimam oram ei, quæ a Pharo esque ad Canopicum ostium perducit, æqualibus semper spatiis opposita: *angusta* enim quædam fascia inter pelagus et fossam extenditur, in quâ est *Parva Taposiris*, post *Nicopolim* ac *Zephyrium*, et promontorium ac *Veneris Arsinoës* sacellum habet. Hoc in loco dicunt olim urbem *Thonim* fuisse, &c. *Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1135. Oxon. 1807.*

‡ See any of the maps of Egypt previous to the landing of the English army in 1801.

§ See the notes to the Oxford edit. of Strabo, p. 1135, note 31.

|| See pl. 8. fig. 2. tom. II. of the large Paris edit.

** They were thus alluded to by colonel Squire. “Three leagues eastward of Alexandria, immediately on the sea shore, are the ruins of very superb and extensive buildings. It is imagined these formed a part of the city of *TAPOSIRIS PARVA*. Here are also cut out of the solid rock a number of places which have the appearance of baths. Not far from this spot, at a short distance in the sea, may be seen the fragments of several pieces of ancient sculpture, granite and marble sphinxes, a colossal fluted statue with

Strabo,* at the *Zephyrium* promontory, where *Thonis* formerly stood. But, if this be true, where are the vestiges of the channel in which the annual devotees performed their voyage from Alexandria to *Canopus*?† It is evident this could not have been the *Alexandrian canal*, if Aboukir stood on the site of Canopus; for this canal has no connexion with Aboukir. Was it then a *canal* which, traversing the bed of the new lake, now called that of Aboukir, communicated with the Alexandrian? All this is very uncertain. Neither the observations made during the time our troops were in Egypt, nor by the French who preceded them, have in any degree elucidated this very difficult part of the ancient geography of Egypt. The country itself seems to have been subjected to the most mighty revolutions, from the convulsions of nature. The present state of *Nelson's Island*, and of the antiquities found upon it, prove that a very considerable part has been swallowed by the waves. The lake of Aboukir, or *Saïd*, now a very considerable inlet of the sea, is the result of an inundation which happened within the last thirty years. How is it possible, therefore, to settle the topography of places whose remains are, perhaps, at this time, under water? The changes which the coast has undergone will render it no very easy task; and certainly it has not yet been determined. Whenever we undertook the inquiry, our investigation proved fruitless; and it is better to state our uncertainty, than to aim at illustration, when there is so little chance of precision. Perhaps the difficulty may have been increased by considering Aboukir as the ancient Canopus.‡ Misled by this prejudice, the traveller is withdrawn from the line of observation marked out by Strabo. His route from Alexandria to Canopus, instead of being in the direction of Aboukir, may possibly have been along the course of the *Alexandrian canal*: and if this be the ΔΙΩΠΥΞ on which the Canopican festivities were annually celebrated,§ we must look for *Can-*

the head of a dog, an immense granite fist, and other relics, plainly indicating the site of a temple." *Colonel Squire's MS. Letters.*

* See Strabo, *ubi supra*.

Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1136. *Oxon.* 1807.

† See chap. X. p. 183. of the former section.

‡ Έν δεξιά δὲ τῆς Κανωσιτικῆς πόλεως ἑξίστην, ἢ διώρυγὴ ἴσιν ἢ ἐπὶ Κάνωσον συνάντησα τῇ λίμνῃ. "El Canopicâ portâ exeunti ad dextram est fossa quæ lacui jungitur et Canopum fert." *Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1135. Oxon.* 1807.

pus, and also for *Heracium*,* rather in the direction of Ut-kô and of Rosetta, towards the Delta: or of Rachmanie, rather than in that of Aboukir.

It was about sunset when we reached the shore near Aboukir. Here we hired a Greek boat to take us to our former station on board the *Félicité* merchantman, lying among the transport ships, where we arrived at seven o'clock the same evening. The good old Ragusan captain gave us a hearty welcome to his cabin, and prepared for us a supper of roasted quails and *pilau*. Lord Keith had sailed about four days before for Malta, which prevented our taking leave of him, and of the officers of his ship, from whom we had experienced many civilities. Dew fell in such abundance, that the decks were wetted as during a heavy shower; nevertheless, from the very *animated* state of the cabin, we preferred passing the night in this damp situation; and experienced from it no inconvenience.

We were detained in the fleet until the twenty-third. Upon the seventeenth, Mr. Schutz, who had been our companion since we left Rosetta, quitted the ship, and set out for Smyrna. During the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth, it blew with such violence from the north-west, that our frequent endeavours to reach the Turkish squadron proved ineffectual. During one of them, the crew being quite exhausted with rowing, and a considerable swell meeting the boat from that quarter, we put about, and hoisted sail. In this manner we were carried unawares so much to the leeward, that we soon found ourselves approaching the surf. The first symptom we had of this was in a wave which broke over our boat. A djerm, whose course we had imprudently followed, stood nearer in toward the shore, and gave us notice of our danger, by being stranded in view of us. These accidents happen so frequently to the Arabs, that they are under very little alarm when they occur. It was the second instance we had witnessed of the same nature.† The crew of the djerm were presently seen swimming towards the shore, having abandoned their boat,

* Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κανωΐδον ἔστι τὸ 'Ηρακλίειον τὸ 'Ηρακλίου ἔχον ἱερὸν εἰτα τὸ Κανωΐδον στόμα, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ Δέλτα. "Post Canopum est Heracium, quod Herculis templum habet." Inde est *Canopicum* ostium, et ipsius *Delta* initium." *Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1136. Oson. 1907.*

† See chap. I. p. 13. of this volume.

and its cargo, in the midst of the surf. We saw them all reach the land in perfect safety. In the mean time, having strained every sinew, by dint of hard and continued exertions with our oars, we succeeded at last in extricating ourselves from this perilous situation. The old Ragusan, when we came on board, was very angry with his men; and said he had been watching the boat with his glass, expecting every moment to see her meet the same fate which the *djerm* had experienced. Upon the nineteenth, we had better success, being enabled to reach the English transport ships, and to take leave of several of our friends. We also purchased provisions for our voyage; a little biscuit, some Adrianople tongues, and some English porter: all these were consumed by the Turks, nearly as soon as they were taken on board the frigate in which we were to sail. The porter had been sent as an adventure from Malta, and was sold in bottles, at the rate of thirty shillings per dozen. Many of the Turks are fond of it; and they can drink it without violating the prohibitory laws of the koran respecting wine. Potatoes, the best of all provisions for a sea voyage, could not be had; rice was very scarce; and tea was not to be purchased. Encouraged, however, by the splendid promises of the Capudan Pasha, who had been so liberal to us upon a former occasion,* we bestowed very little thought upon our means of subsistence; little expecting what befel us in the sequel. The nineteenth was passed in looking over and transcribing the notes for our journals; and in buying a few books, taken on board a French prize, which had been destined for the use of the Institute in Egypt. Upon the twentieth, the wind being less violent, we set out for the Turkish frigate, called *Say Yaat Ebarey*, on board a large barge belonging to the *Félicité*. We pulled to windward as far as Nelson's Island, and then hoisted sail. When we arrived on board, we were ordered into the ward-room, where we were permitted to sling our cots. This birth (although contrary to the orders given for our reception, which had assigned us a place in the captain's cabin) proved an advantageous one to us, as it enabled us to view the interior management of a Turkish ship of war. It was the rendezvous of all the officers on board; two of whom were Ragusans. These men, although entirely under the dominion of the Turks, conversed freely

* See chap. III. p. 41. of the former section.

upon the ignorance and incapacity of their masters, and often entertained us with an account of their blunders and imbecility. They told us, that the superannuated captain of the frigate had never been to sea before his present voyage; that, at the age of seventy, he had espoused a relation of the Capudan Pasha's, and obtained in consequence his appointment to the frigate; that his nephew, a young man, had rather more experience, and held a station similar to that of first-lieutenant on board one of our ships. All the business of steering the vessel was left to the two Ragusans, and to an old pilot who had never consulted a chart in his life; the captain's nephew having the management of the crew, and the care of the rigging. A few French prisoners were kept in irons, ready to be sent aloft in rough weather. To these were added, a sturdy buffoon, who might be considered as burlesquing the office of boatswain; it was his duty to keep the crew in good humour by all sorts of tricks and jokes; to promise, and sometimes to distribute, *bachshish*,* when any additional hands were required in aid of the French prisoners aloft, and when the Turkish sailors refused, as they constantly did, to venture from the deck; an idiot, held sacred as a saint, and kept on board for good luck; a couple of dervishes; an auctioneer, employed daily in hawking commodities for sale between the decks; an immense concourse of passengers, from all parts of the Levant; pilgrims upon their return from Mecca: Tartars, as couriers; sixty Arabian horses, belonging to the Capudan Pasha, with their Arab grooms; venders of coffee and tobacco, who had regular shops established in different parts of the ship; and, to sum up the whole, a couple of English travellers, with their interpreter, a Greek, who was continually crossing himself at the scene of confusion he witnessed.

The first day after our arrival on board this frigate, we received information that the *Ceres* was stationed at a small distance from the Turkish fleet. We hastened to pay our respects once more to our excellent friend captain Russel, and to the officers of his ship; but it was to take a last farewell of him. We had the melancholy spectacle of beholding him almost in his last moments. The fever which he had caught in Cyprus had scarcely ever left him; and Mr.

* An expression answering to *drink-money* in English.

Hume, the skilful surgeon of his ship, had given over every hope of his recovery. On the twenty-second we received a visit from captain Culverhouse of the *Romulus*; returning with him, we spent the day where we had before been so long and hospitably entertained, in company with the captains of other ships then at anchor in the bay. Here we received the news of Nelson's glorious victory at Copenhagen, adding to the triumphs of our beloved country which we had witnessed in Egypt; and the more highly gratifying to us, as, during our residence in Alexandria, the French had industriously circulated a report that Nelson had been defeated. Upon the twenty-third, at day-break, we were under weigh, and soon lost sight of the British fleet. Having thus detailed every particular of our voyage and travels in the most interesting region which it was our fortune to visit, and perhaps more minutely than was often necessary, the remainder of this section, relating to the rest of our observations and adventures in the east, may be given less circumstantially; because they will be found to have reference to countries better known, and where a strict attention to every notice of time and season, if it ever be of consequence, is certainly of little moment.

We had not been long on board the Turkish frigate before we began to perceive what sort of fare we were likely to expect. Every article of food we had brought with us speedily disappeared among the motley tenants of the ward-room. Muddy coffee, unsophisticated by any ingredient which could add to its nutritive qualities, might be purchased at any time, in small cups, each containing as much of the liquid as would fill a desert spoon, the rest being substantial sediment: this and the fumes of tobacco promised to be the whole of our sustenance. At night, the spectacle on board was perhaps one of the most striking which persons unaccustomed to venture with Turkish mariners can possibly witness. The ship seemed to be left pretty much to her own discretion; every officer of the watch being fast asleep, the port holes all open, an enormous quantity of canvass let loose, and the passengers between decks, with paper lanterns, snoozing over their lighted pipes; while the sparks from these pipes, with pieces of ignited fungus,* were flying in all directions. Now and then, an

* Commonly called *amadou*, the *Boletus igniarius*, used over all Europe and Asia as tinder; although rarely applied to that purpose in England.

unexpected roll called forth murmuring ejaculations of "Allâ or "Mahmoud!" and a few were seen, squatted singly, counting their prayers according to the beads upon their *tespies*.* Upon one of these occasions, the weather being somewhat boisterous, and the night very dark, a gun was suddenly heard close under the ship's bows, and the snorers were presently in uproar. What had happened, or what was to be done, no soul on board could tell. A message came speedily into the ward-room, ordering the two *djowrs* (infidels) and their interpreter to come with all haste to the captain. We found him, with his long white beard and flowing dress, surrounded by all the paper lanterns that could be collected, extending his arms upon the deck, and scolding the buffoon. Before he could articulate a word of his business with us, the report of another gun came like a clap of thunder, and, by the flash which accompanied it, this second discharge seemed to be pointed towards the frigate. He then asked us, with great agitation, what those signals were? and what would be the consequence of his not answering them? We told him we knew not what the signals were; but that if he delayed answering them, it was possible the next would be accompanied with shot. He said he had been ordered to answer *a friend* by four stern lanterns, placed one above the other. We advised him by all means to answer as to *a friend*; and after a general "hue and cry," the old captain himself ascending the poop, the lanterns were displayed; but whether according to the proper form or not was never ascertained. We heard no further cause of alarm. When tranquillity was somewhat restored, the old captain, peering to leeward, affected to see what no one else could discern, and called out with great seeming satisfaction "*Kootchûk! Kootchûk!*" *a little one! a little one!* as possibly it might have been; viz. one of our English cutters, whose crew were perhaps amusing themselves with the awkwardness of our manœuvres, and the panic they had occasioned.

There was no log-book to which we could refer, as in our former voyages, on board English men-of-war; consequently we had little opportunity of adding to nautical observations. The mercury, in Fahrenheit's thermometer, stood, September 27, at 78°, at noon: yet, coming from a

* See Chap. XVI. of the former Section, p. 323, Note (†).

warmer climate, we felt chilly, and put on our winter clothing. Toward evening, this day, the weather became squally, and the old captain would gladly have made a few reefs in his wide-spreading canvass: the buffoon was accordingly set to work, to have this accomplished; in the meantime the fore-sail went to shivers. Never was there a scene of greater confusion. In the midst of it, one of us attempted to assist, and even spoke to the captain. His rage upon being addressed by an infidel at this critical moment exceeded all bounds. He spat first upon the deck,* then into the sea, attributing the accident entirely to our presence on board, and cursing the whole race of christians, as the authors of all the ill luck he had ever encountered. The gale increased; but it came on from the north-west with more steady violence, and by taking it in poop, and running before it, according to the invariable practice of the Turks, we were secure as long as sea-room could be found. It continued in this manner during one entire night; and if it had not abated the next morning, Sept. 28th, the ship, being suffered to drive, would have been wrecked upon the first lee-shore that intervened in her course towards the south-east. This day at noon, the author having found an excellent sextant in the ward-room, which had been taken from a French prisoner, made an observation of the ship's latitude; and calculating, as well as he was able, the course she had made, upon a chart belonging to one of the Ragusans, ascertained her position, lat. $34^{\circ} 50'$, French longit. 48° . As the pilot on board, being out of sight of land, knew nothing of her situation, he sent the chart, with a respectful message to the captain, telling him the ship's latitude, and her probable distance from Rhodes, Finica Bay, Cyprus &c. Upon this he was summoned, with the Ragusan, into the cabin, and immediately asked, how he could pretend to know where the ship then was? Having stated that he had ascertained this by means of a sextant found in a drawer of the ward-room, and a calculation of the ship's course, according to the common observations daily made on board English and other ships, the Ragusan was despatched to bring the thing called *sextant* instantly before the captain. This instrument being altogether incomprehensible to him,

* The Oriental mode of cursing, by spitting upon the ground. Allusion has been already made to this practice in the former Chapter. See p. 196, Note (*).

he contented himself with viewing it in every direction, except that in which it might be used; and, stroking his long beard, said to the Ragusan, "Thus it is always with these poor *djovrs* (infidels,) they can make nothing out without some peeping contrivance of this kind: now *we* Turks require no sextants—*we*, (pointing with his finger to his forehead,) *we* have our sextants *here*."

The wind changing, we continued drifting about, with occasional apprehensions of starvation, drowning, or of being blown up by the ship's taking fire. The first land we saw was ascertained to be a part of the mountainous coast of Caramania, or Lycia. Passing in view of the Chelidonian Isles, and *Promontorium Sacrum*, we stood into *Finica* Bay, whither the Turkish fleet, lying at Aboukir, had resorted for fresh water from the river *Limyrus*, which falls into the bay, near the village or town of *Finica*, where *Limyra* formerly stood. Here we were becalmed; and being near enough to see the houses on shore, we applied for permission to land, that we might examine the remains of *Limyra*, and also of *Myra*, which stood near the mouth of another river, upon the western side of the bay. Our captain, by the advice of his pilots, acted for once like a true seaman, and would allow no one to land; intending, as he said, to get farther out to sea as soon as possible. As the evening advanced, a land-breeze carried us again from the bay; but, before night came on, it blew only in hot gusts; and being upon deck, we were in utter astonishment at the indescribable grandeur of the Lycian coast, and the awful phenomena by which we were surrounded. Stupendous mountains, as the shadows increased, appeared close to the ship, towering above our top-masts; the higher parts being covered with snow, or partly concealed by thick clouds; the air around us becoming every instant more sultry and stagnant. Presently the whole atmosphere was illuminated. The mountains seemed to vomit fire. A pale but vivid lightning darted innumerable flashes over every object, even among the masts and rigging. Never surely was such a scene elsewhere exhibited! The old Greek pilots crossed themselves, but comforted us with the assurance that this appearance of the kindling elements was common upon this coast; and that it denoted favourable weather. We heard little thunder; but streams of living light ran continually from the summits of the mountains toward the sea, and,

seeming to separate before they reached the water, filled the air with coruscations. Since, reflecting upon this circumstance as characterizing the coast, it seems to explain a fabulous notion which the ancients entertained of the Chimæra disgorging flames upon the Lycian territory,* alluded to by Ovid in the wandering of Biblis.† It is true, that a volcano might suit the story better; and it is thus explained by Servius, with reference to a burning mountain in the neighbouring region of Caria; the topographical history of the Chimæra being by some writers attributed to Caria, and by others to Lycia; but the existence of this volcano has not yet been ascertained; indeed, such is our ignorance of the whole coast of Asia Minor, from CNIDUS to TARSUS, including all the maritime districts of Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, that we have no account either of its ruins or its natural history.‡

Sailing westward the whole night and following day, on the morning of October the first, at sunrise, we made the eastern coast of the Island of Rhodes, and put the ship's head to the north. During this day we had some pleasant sailing, within twenty miles of the shore: the atmosphere being exceedingly clear, we seemed to survey the whole island in one view, from its southern toward its northern extremity. Coming opposite to Lindus, the weather being calm, the author was enabled to complete an outline of this once-favoured land,§ according to its bearing at the time.

It embraces nearly its whole extent, from north to south; showing the relative position of Lindus and Rhodes, and the appearance exhibited by its rough, craggy, and broken land, as compared with the features of other islands noticed in the former section. The country immediately around Lindus is described by Philostratus as being the most rugged of the Rhodian territory. It was particularly favourable for the cultivation of the vine and the fig-tree, but ill adapted to other purposes of agriculture, and impassable for carts and waggons. In this, perhaps, it resembled the land of Judæa,

* "In Lycia igitur, à promontorio ejus oppidum Simena, mons Chimæra noctibus flagrans." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 27. tom. I. p. 271. L. Bat. 1635.*

† Ovid. *Metam. lib. ix.*

‡ In the number of English travellers now visiting the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, it is hoped that some one will be induced to explore these regions.

§ "Pulcherrima et libera Rhodes." (*Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 31. L. Bat. 1635.* See also *Lucian*.)

where corn has always been cultivated by means of terraces formed upon the sides of the mountains. From the nature of the land about Lindus, the whole island received the appellation which it bears in Statius,* of "*the rugged Rhodes*." Our pilots pointed out to us the eminence on which the remains of ancient Lindus are situated. The collection of rarities once dedicated in votive offerings at the shrine of the Lindian Minerva, must have rendered the temple, considered as a museum only, one of the most curious sights to which the inhabitants of Greece resorted. Vessels of ancient bronze, military trophies, armour, and weapons, were frequently suspended as donatives in their sanctuaries. But such was the antiquity of some of the gifts in the Lindian temple, that one of them, a bronze caldron, had been presented by Cadmus; and it was distinguished by an inscription in Phœnician characters.† An offering of Amasis, king of Egypt, seems to have been regarded as the principal marvel of the temple, notwithstanding the pictures of Parrhasius and of Zeuxis, by which it had been adorned; this was a linen thorax of net-work, each thread consisting of as many filaments as there are days in the year. The consul Mutianus, says Pliny, had himself unravelled one of these threads, and had borne testimony to the fact.‡

From the eastern coast of Rhodes our captain stood over once more towards the coast of Lycia and the Seven Capes. In the morning of October the second, we found ourselves in the midst of islands and promontories, placed upon the bright expanse as it were of a mirror without boundary. It is quite impossible to excite, by description, any ideas of such scenery. The impression made upon our minds, who had beheld these sights before, was new again. The immensity of the objects; the varied nature of the territory over all the southern shores of Asia Minor; the prodigious effect of light and shade, in masses extending for leagues; the sublime effulgence and the ineffable whiteness of their snow-clad summits, contrasted with the dark chasms on the sides of the mountains; the bold precipices, and the groupes of

* In *Equo Domitiani*, lib. ii.

† *Diodorus Sic.* lib. ii. *Herodot.* lib. ii.

‡ "Mirentur hoc, ignorantes in Ægyptii quondam regis, quem Amasis vocant, thorace in Rhodiorum insulâ ostendi in templo Minervæ cccxv illis singula fila constare. Quod se expertum nuper Romæ prædixit Mutianus ter consul, parvasque jam reliquias ejus superesse hæc experientium injuriâ," *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xix. c. 1. *L. Bat.* 1635.

numerous islands; the glorious brightness and the intensity of colour diffused over the horizon;—these, indeed, may be enumerated, but they cannot be described. We continued surveying them, as if we had then seen them only for the first time. The Turkish practice of keeping near the shore, when land is in view, enabled us to see the whole coast of Lycia and of Caria. As we proceeded toward Doris, the eye commanded in one prospect the whole of that part of Asia Minor, even to the Triopian Promontory, or *Cape Crio*, together with the islands of Rhodes, Syme, Sicilia, Telo, and even Scarpanto, lying at the distance of thirty leagues in the Carpathian Sea.*

During this day we were employed in crossing the mouth of the gulf of Glaucus. Continuing our voyage toward the north-west, we found ourselves becalmed near the entrance of the bay of Marmora, anciently that of Peræa, the memorable rendezvous of our fleet, previous to the Egyptian expedition. The magnificent harbour it affords has been described by other writers; but as it remained so long unknown, and may always prove an important place of refuge for vessels in these stormy seas, the author again availed himself of the tranquil situation of the ship to sketch the appearance of the coast, and to note the bearing of the land when the view was made.† It will show the mountainous course of the territory opposite Rhodes; although the features of Nature do

* "Rhodiorum insulæ, *Carpathus*, quæ mari nomen dedit." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 31. tom. I. p. 280. L. Bat. 1635.*

† A short extract from colonel Squire's MS. correspondence will afford the reader a description of this bay; and the curious circumstances of the "*myrtle fascines*," prepared for the attack in Egypt, will not pass without observation. It is taken from a letter to the Rev. E. Squire, dated "*Marmorice Bay, Jan. 21. 1801.*"

"Our present situation is as charming and picturesque as can well be imagined: the bay is completely landlocked, and, from within, appears as a sheet of water, or lake, surrounded by lofty mountains, wooded to the very summit; but here and there divided by deep impenetrable valleys, thick with shrubs of every description; to which a clear, yet constant stream, imparts freshness and verdure. Sometimes one height is separated from another by a large extensive plain, divided into fields, and covered with an abundance of cattle: add to these the little towns of Marmorice, with its mosque and minaret, the shipping at anchor, the boats passing to and fro, the tents on different parts of the shore, and the variety of objects, will be found to compose a picture that can never be surpassed. On the *ninth instant*, my brother officers and myself were lauded, and encamped with a party of two hundred artificers, for the purpose of making *fascines*, and preparing our particular branch of the service for the ensuing campaign. Would you believe that most of our *fascines* are of the most beautiful myrtle; and that, probably, in a few weeks, we shall be planting our cannon in MYRTLE BATTERIES BEFORE ALEXANDRIA?" *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

not here present so gigantic an appearance as to the eastward of the Seven Capes. The wind afterwards becoming favourable for Rhodes, we stood for the town; and coming close to it, fired a gun, as a signal for a boat to put off to the ship. When the boat arrived, we represented to the captain the necessity of our landing with the despatches from the Capudan Pasha, which he had charged us to deliver with our own hands to the governor; but the wary old Turk, apprehending at least the possibility of its being an order for his own execution,* delivered the despatches to the boatmen, and, without waiting for any answer, made all the sail he could to get away from the island. The Ragusans explained his conduct to us; for it seemed otherwise unaccountable that he should thus wantonly disobey his commanding officer, to whom, at the same time, he was so nearly related.

On the following morning we found that we had made but little progress, being off the island of *Episcopia*, or *Piscopy*, called *Hellika* by the Turks, and *Telo* by the modern Greeks, anciently *Telos*. Thence doubling again the Triopian promontory, we came once more in sight of Cos, and arrived near the town of *Stanchio*, Sunday, October the fourth. Here a dervish, who came with us from Egypt, wished to go on shore; and as we had still much to do in Greece, and were very desirous of leaving the Turkish frigate, we renewed our applications to the captain to enable us to land with the dervish. He told us not to lose a moment, if such were our intentions, as the small boat which he had prepared was incapable of containing many persons, and it was filling very fast from the port-holes. We committed some of our trunks to his care, to be conveyed to Constantinople; and taking with us as few necessities as possible, leaped into the midst of the crowd in the boat, at the moment in which it was leaving the ship. Fortunately the sea was perfectly calm; for we soon found that with the smallest motion we should all go to the bottom, the water being already even with the boat's edge; and it required the utmost caution in rowing her three miles from the ship to the shore, to prevent her filling; so deeply was she laden.

A Greek bishop had arrived in Stanchio since our last visit, to whom we were introduced. He began already to

* The grandees of Turkey are sometimes sent to Rhodes, when it is necessary to get rid of them, with an order to the Governor for their own execution.

wish for the money which his promotion had cost him; having gained nothing by the bargain, as he himself told us, excepting a fine painted and gilded firmân, from Constantinople, which no one respected. He intended, however, as he told us, to reimburse himself in his capacity of magistrate; the bishops in the isles acting as justices of the peace, in all disputes among the Greeks, and generally taking care to be well paid for their trouble. He accompanied us to the governor, where, having obtained an audience, we produced a letter from the Capudan Pasha, enjoining all persons, as far as the Turkish power by sea extended, to render us assistance upon our travels. We told the governor, that we had no other favour to ask of him, than to procure for us some vessel which we might hire by the month. He said there was nothing suitable at present in the harbour; but desired our interpreter to accompany one of his officers to the opposite port of Bûdrûn, (*Halicarnassus*,) where it might be possible to find something adapted to our undertaking. To this we agreed, and hired a set of apartments near the bishop's house, where we remained, waiting the return of our messengers.

The next day we received a visit from our old friend the French consul, who came to welcome our arrival, and, poor as he was, to offer his services. He had not received a single sous from his government since he had resided upon the island; nor was there any prospect that the arrears would be paid. While he remained with us, he received information that a transport ship, with French prisoners from Egypt, having separated from the convoy, had put in for water and provisions. We told him, that a proper opportunity now offered of obtaining some supply from his countrymen; as they had been allowed to remove to France the wealth which they had acquired in Egypt by plunder, and, doubtless, had much treasure on board. He smiled at the idea of receiving assistance from any of the "*Heroes of the Republic*?" but allowed us to make the experiment; stating first a memorial of his case in writing, and addressing it to the officers and privates in the transport. With this document we hastened on board: and being conducted into the cabin, found there a general of the French army, who had lost a leg in one of the late actions, and was confined to his cot, surrounded by French soldiers, some of whom were officers, all disputing and talking at once. As soon as we had obtained

a hearing, we presented our petition, and endeavoured to urge the suit entrusted to us with all the persuasion we could use. It was to no purpose. The consul, they said, might be a man of merit; he had served his country faithfully, but there was nothing in their situation, or in his, that could warrant an interposition on their part between the republic and its agents. We contended that it ought not to be considered as an interference in state matters, but as a work of common charity, and as an act of real patriotism: but these terms, *charity* and *patriotism*, as they were to be *paid for*, were not very graciously received. After a few more *appeals* and *repeals*, bows, protestations, and grimaces, we were forced to return without having accomplished the object of our mission.

During four days that we were detained upon the island, we renewed our search after antiquities, and particularly after inscriptions. We had every reason to believe that remains of this kind might be found within the castle; but our entrance was, as usual, strictly prohibited. The consul himself had never obtained admission; so cautious are the Turks in preventing foreigners from inspecting their fortifications. We ventured, however, upon the drawbridge which crosses the mote on the land side; and as we drew near to the gateway, observed above the entrance, six masks,* of the most exquisite sculpture: some of these were represented with beards. We saw also, very distinctly, the letters of a Greek inscription on each side of the entrance.†

These inscriptions, notwithstanding the expedition, and the circumspection also, requisite in tracing them, the author believes he has copied with accuracy. The first is a most affecting and beautiful memorial of filial piety in an eminently virtuous woman. It is in the wall, on the left side of the castle-gate, to a person facing the entrance. It sets forth, that "*the senate and people have honoured Suetonia, the daughter of Caius, who has lived chastely and with decorum; both*

* A part of the frieze mentioned in the former Section, chap. VII. p.130, note (*.)

† As neither of these inscriptions has been observed or published by Spon, or any other former traveller, no apology is necessary for their insertion here. It may be said, that a more methodical distribution of the subject of these Travels would have required their introduction into the account of *Cos*, as it was published in the former section: but in the very beginning of his undertaking the author promised to make his work "*as similar as possible to the state in which notes taken on the spot were made*," and he is not conscious of having ever deviated from his engagement.

on account of her own virtue, and the benevolence she has shown towards her father." The legend is as follows :

ΑΒΟΥΛΑΚΑΙΟΔΑΜΟΣ
ΕΤΕΙΜΑΣΑΝΣΟΥΗΤΩ
ΝΙΑΝΓΑΙΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ
ΠΡΕΙΜΑΝΖΗΣΑΣΑΝ
ΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣΚΑΙΚΟΣ
ΜΙΩΣΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΝΑΥΤΑΣ
ΑΡΕΤΑΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΑΝΕΣ
ΤΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑΑΥΤΑΣ
ΣΟΥΗΤΩΝΙΟΝΕΡΜΙ
ΑΝΕΥΝΟΙΑΝΤΕΙΜΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

On the right-hand side of the gate, exactly opposite to this, is another inscription of a similar nature, commemorating the exemplary conduct of a woman towards her husband ; purporting that "*the people erect Anaxinæ daughter of Euazon, wife of Charmylus, on account of her virtue and chastity, and benevolence towards her husband.*" This is the order of the legend :

ΟΔΑΜΟΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
ΑΝΑΞΙΝΑΗΑΝΕΥΑΙΟΝΟΣ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΔΕΧΑΡΜΥΛΟΥΤΟΥ
ΧΑΡΜΥΛΟΥΑΡΕΤΑΣΕΝΕΚΑΚΑΙ
ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΑΣΚΑΙΤΑΣΠΟΤΙ
ΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΑΑΥΤΑΣΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ

What an exalted idea do these records convey of the state of society, in a country where the private virtues of the inhabitants were considered as public benefits, and were gratefully and publicly commemorated by the senate and the people ; where the filial piety and the chastity of its women were thus honoured and rewarded ! Even amidst the depraved state of public morals, in the modern cities of Europe, were these virtues estimated at as high a price, each nation would

have to boast of an *Anaximæa* and a *Suctonia*. Let there be only an equal excitement to virtue, and human nature would be found the same in every age. The sublime and affecting institution of national honours for exemplary morals would not operate less effectually in this enlightened age than in the best periods of Grecian history; and although "the price of a virtuous woman is far above rubies," yet in such an institution even female virtue would find its value: "her own works would praise her in the gates," and "strength and honour would be her clothing."

We found other inscriptions in our second visit to this island, but of less consideration. Upon a slab of Cipolino marble, forming a bench near to the old Greek Monastery, we observed an inscription of some length, relating to one of the vessels employed in a bath; beginning *ΗΙΤΑΔΟΣ*, and followed by a list of names. Others upon votive altars were numerous. Near to an arch at the entrance of the Market, we saw a beautiful altar of Parian marble, ornamented with bulls' heads, having bands of fillets, as for sacrifice, falling on each side; and supporting festoons of flowers, beautifully sculptured. It had this inscription:

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ

These, with fragments of porphyry, breccia, and other materials of ancient sculpture, lying about the modern town of Stanchio, and already alluded to,* are all that we noticed upon this occasion. Of the renowned *ASCLEPIEUM*, mentioned by Strabo,† we could find no traces; although it is reasonable to expect that the remains of such a building may be here discovered; it was situated in a suburb of the ancient city; not of *Astypalea*, the first metropolis of the people of Cos—for that city stood elsewhere‡—but of *Cos*, a city built upon the point of *Scanderia*, to the westward; so that its suburbs probably occupied the situation of the modern town. Possibly the mosque may now occupy the ori-

* See chap. VII. p. 130, of the former section of part. II.

† *Ἀσκληπιεῖον*. Strabon. Geog. lib. xiv. p. 941. Oxon. 1807.

‡ *Ἡ δὲ τῶν Κώων πόλις ἱκαλεῖτο τὸ παλαιὸν Ἀστυπάλαια, καὶ φημιτο ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ*. Strabon. Geog. lib. xiv. p. 940. Ed. Oxon. 1807.

ginal site of the ASCLEPIEUM : near to it there was a grove, consecrated to Æsculapius.* One of the assassins of Julius Cæsar, Publius Turullius, a Roman Senator, cut down almost all the trees for ship timber ; but afterwards, delivered up by his friend Anthony to Augustus, he was put to death. In the uncertainty which prevails with regard to the age of trees,† and particularly of the Plane-tree, which is known to exist for centuries, perhaps the marvellous tree of *Stanchio*, alluded to upon a former occasion,‡ if it be not a venerable remnant of this grove, may, as a spontaneous produce resulting from it, denote its actual situation. The conjecture seems to be warranted by the number of ancient altars still remaining about the body of this tree. The ASCLEPIEUM was filled with the most costly *vows* ; and, among the number, the most famous paintings of Appelles—his *Antigonus*, and his *Venus Anadyomene*. Augustus removed the last picture to Rome, and there consecrated it in the shrine of his father.§

The custom of suspending pictures in churches, representing hair-breadth escapes from casual disaster or disorder, as votive offerings to patron saints who are believed to have been propitious to the donors, is still common in many countries, particularly where the Greek and the Catholic religion is professed : in the same manner, models in wax, or sculptured representations of parts of the human body, such as the hands or the feet, recovered from disease, are often placed before an image, in small shrines near to the road side, in the defiles of mountains, particularly in the Alps. The most curious fact connected with the practice is this, that it is much older than the time of Hippocrates. Such offerings have been made from time immemorial by the Hindoos :|| but among the Greeks, it was customary to devote within their temples something more than the mere symbol of a benefit received ; inscriptions were added to such signs, setting forth the na-

* Dio Cassius.

† Cowper speaks of an oak which had flourished from the time of the conquest ; (See *Hayley's Life of Cowper*, vol. III. p. 166. *Chichester*. 1806.) and allusion has been already made to the famous olive-tree in the citadel at Athens, that had existed from the foundation of the city.

‡ See p. 120 of the former section.

§ *Strabon. Geog. lib. xiv. p. 941. Oxon. 1807.* " Venerem exeuntem è mari Divus Augustus dicavit in delubro patris Cæsaris, quæ Anadyomene vocatur." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. cap. 10. L. Bat. 1635.* The same circumstance is also related by Quintilian.

|| The women, in many parts of India, hang out offerings to their deities ; either a string of beads, or a lock of hair, or some other trifling present, when a child, or any one of their family, has been recovered from illness.

ture of the remedy that had been successful, or giving a description of the peculiar grace that had been accorded.* In

* "Among the remains of antiquity which offer themselves to the notice of the traveller in his journey through Greece and Asia, there are some hitherto not sufficiently regarded: and yet they are of importance, as being connected with the religious opinions of the ancients, and as being prototypes of a custom existing at this day in christian countries. I allude to the votive offerings which were presented to some deities, on the restoration to health, after a bodily complaint or disease. The eyes, the feet, the hands, sometimes* the whole body, were, as soon as health returned to the invalid, formed in marble, earthenware, and other materials, and offered to a presiding deity. In Italy, and in other Roman Catholic countries,† this custom still prevails; and in the Greek churches we have witnessed similar representations, in silver, wax, and other substances, dedicated to patron saints.

"A question here arises concerning the antiquity of this practice: In what country, and at what period, did it first commence? On these points we are in possession of an authentic fact, by which we are enabled to answer, in some degree, the question; at least, we are informed by it, that the antiquity of the custom is great; and that it prevailed in the east, and was thence probably introduced into Greece.

"When the Philistines had taken away the ark of the God of Israel, the hand of the Lord, we read, was heavy upon them; and he smote them. When they determined to send back the ark, they asked their priests what offering they should make to the Lord, that they might be relieved from the disorders which attacked their bodies, and from the other calamity, that of mice, which destroyed the land. The priests answered, 'Ye shall make golden images of your emerods, and images of your mice that mar your land; and ye shall give glory unto the God of Israel; peradventure he will lighten his hand from off you. And they did so; and they laid the ark of the Lord upon the cart, and the coffer with the mice of gold, and with the images of their emerods.'‡

"This, we have no doubt, is the earliest mention of the custom we are considering. We have observed at Phocæa in the ancient Lydia, at Eleusis, at Athens, and other parts of Greece, holes of a square form, cut in the limestone rock, for the purpose of receiving these votive offerings; sometimes the offerings themselves, eyes, feet, hands, have been discovered. At Cyzicum there is a representation of two feet on marble, with an inscription; probably the vow of some person who had performed a prosperous journey. The same subject is referred to in the engraving of a tablet published by Tomasini, on which are seen two feet, accompanied with these letters, QVIE IANAE H D, showing that it was an offering by a person of the name of Jana to Hygeia: and if the word *Quie* be properly explained, *quiescentis*, the whole has reference, as we have observed, to a journey performed with safety.

"Women, after child birth, made votive offerings; and a representation of the girdle was consecrated to Diana.§ Acantherus explains the subject

* In the Island of Santorin there are some singular representations on the rock. Tomasini gives the votive figure of a man in a dropsical state.

† "Ea quippe licentia, (says Baronius,) quâ Deorum delubra in Ecclesiis Christianorum sunt laudabiliter commutata, alii quoque ritus a nobis benedictionibus expiati divino sunt cultui consecrati."

‡ I Sempel vi. 5. 11. "Solebant Veteres, (says Bochart, on this passage,) aliquo metu vel periculo defuncti, præteritorum malorum insignia ac monumenta illis Diis consecrare a quibus se liberatos putabant." *Hieros.* lib. xi. c. 36.

§ Called Diana *Αυσιζωος*. *Zonam solvere*, in latin has reference to mar-

the churches of the north of Europe, and particularly in those of Denmark and Norway, the traces of this ancient

of a marble, in which a person of the name of Laomedon makes an offering to the Lochian Diana, on the safe delivery of his wife.

"All these offerings, which were made either during illness, or after recovery from it, were termed *χαρίσματα τῆς σωτηρίας*: the words *δῶρον*, *χάρισμα*, *ἀνάθημα*, were also used: and in Latin, *Dona*, and *Donaria*.

"As the temples of Neptune received the votive tributes of those who had escaped the dangers of the sea; so the temples of Æsculapius were adorned with tablets presented by persons restored to health. Invalids were allowed to sleep in the porticoes, and the interior, of the fanes of Isis and Æsculapius; and there, by the way of dream, they received advice concerning the remedies they should use to procure their health. 'Julian (says an old inscription,) vomited blood; and was given over; the god told him to come and take the cones of a pine tree, and eat them, with honey, for three days. He received his health, and came and returned thanks in the presence of the people.'

"Valerius Aper, a soldier, was blind. The god told him to take the blood of a white cock; to mix it with honey, and make an ointment of it; and apply it to his eyes for three days. He gained his sight, and came and returned thanks.'

"On these and similar occasions, we must suppose the votive offerings were presented; many of which are found in Greece and Asia.* They were fixed, as we have observed, sometimes in the rock, near the sacred precincts of a temple; sometimes appended to the walls and columns of the temples: they were fastened also by wax to the knees, or other parts of the statues of the gods.†

"When we say, that the offerings were made in the temple of Isis, we must understand, that the honour was paid particularly to Serapis, joint tenant of the temple, as the god of medicine. '*Ego medicinā a Serapi ulor*,' says Varro.‡ See also Cicero, in his second book, *De Divinat*. Nor did those only who recovered from illness pay their votive tribute of gratitude to the gods; their friends often united with them in this act of devotion.

"The period of the first introduction into the Christian church of this custom, one so prevalent in pagan Italy and Greece, cannot be precisely fixed. But Theodoret, one of the Greek fathers, has a passage in his *Therapeutics*,§ which attests the existence of the practice, in the fifth century, of Christians offering, in their churches, representations of parts of the body restored to health: 'Some,' he says, 'offer up effigies' (*εἰκονίσματα*) of eyes; others of feet; others, of hands; made of gold, and silver.'

"The same spirit of religious feeling which prompted the pagans to make the offerings we have adverted to, urged them to consider themselves, in every transaction and situation of life, as under the presiding care of some deity; to whom, consequently, some manifestation of gratitude was due in all successful undertakings. The husbandman, after the harvest, offered up his instruments of husbandry; poets, and men of genius, consecrated their

riage; among the Greeks, it referred to the birth of the first child. *Scaliger on Catullus*.

* The medicine itself was sometimes placed in the temples; as in the case of a goldsmith, who, on his death bed, bequeathed an ointment to a temple, which those who were unable to see the physicians might use. *Aëtius. Tetr. xi. Serm.*

† *Juven. Sat. x. 54. Prudent. contra Symm. lib. i. Lucian. Philop.*

‡ *Turn. Adv. lib. iii. c. 8. "An Æsculapius, an Serapis, potest præscribere per sompnum curationem valetudinis."* *Cicero de Divin.*

§ *Lib. viii.*

custom may yet be observed; *dona votiva* being often suspended in the form of pictures representing hair-breadth escapes, a deliverance from banditti, or a recovery from sickness; and these pictures are frequently inscribed with the particulars of the case thereby commemorated. It was from a list of remedies collected in the temples that Hippocrates of Cos framed a regular set of canons for the art of medicine, and reduced the practice of physic to a system.*

A remarkable cause was tried while we were in Cos; and a statement of the circumstance, on which it was founded will serve to exhibit a very singular part of the Mahometan law; namely, that which relates to "*homicide by implication.*" An instance of a similar nature was before noticed, when it was related that the Capudan Pasha reasoned with the people of Samos upon the propriety of their paying for a Turkish frigate which was wrecked upon their territory; "because the accident would not have happened unless their island had been in the way," This was mentioned as a characteristic feature of Turkish justice, and so it really was; that is to say, it was a sophistical application of a principle rigidly founded upon the *fifth species of homicide*, according to the Mahometan law; or "*homicide by an intermediate cause,*" which is strictly the name it bears.† The case which occurred at Cos fell

harps, lyres, and volumes, to Minerva and Apollo; conquerors presented some of the spoils won in war.* The temples of the Greeks were, we know, used by different states, as banks; to this circumstance was owing, in part, the vast wealth which they contained; and this was increased by the costly offerings† in gold and silver, presented on various occasions." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

* Of this description is the ancient Argive helmet found in the alluvial soil of the Alpheus, at Olympia, by Mr. Morritt; now in the possession of Mr. Knight.

† One of the most ancient offerings in Greece was that bearing an inscription, in Cadmean letters, on a tripod, at Thebes. *Herod. lib. v. p. 400.* Ἀμφιγυίων μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἰών ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων. ἰών is the emendation of Valguarnera. γίων is preferred by Villoison, (*Anec. ii. 129.*) with ἀνίθηκε.

* "Tunc eam revocavit in lucem Hippocrates, genitus in insulâ Coo, in primis clarâ ac validâ, et Æsculapio dicatâ. Is, cum fuisset mos, liberatos morbis scribere in templo ejus Dei, quid auxiliatum esset, ut postea similitudo proficeret, excripsis ea traditur, atque (ut Varro apud nos credit) jam templo cremato, instituisse medicinam hanc, quæ Clinice vocatur." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxix. c. 1. tom. III. p. 187. L. Bat. 1635.*

† See the communication made to the author by Mr. Keane, as published in note (*). p. 118, of the former Section.

more immediately under the cognizance of this law. It was as follows.

A young man desperately in love with a girl of Stanchio, eagerly sought to marry her; but his proposals were rejected. In consequence of his disappointment, he bought some poison and destroyed himself. The Turkish police instantly arrested the father of the young woman, as the cause, *by implication*, of the man's death: under the *fifth species of homicide*, he became therefore amenable for this act of suicide. When the cause came before the magistrate, it was urged literally by the accusers, that "*If he, the accused, had not had a daughter, the deceased would not have fallen in love; consequently, he would not have been disappointed; consequently he would not have swallowed poison; consequently he would not have died:—but he, the accused, had a daughter; and the deceased had fallen in love; and had been disappointed; and had swallowed poison; and had died.*" Upon all these counts, he was called upon to pay the price of the young man's life; and this, being fixed at the sum of eighty *piastres*, was accordingly exacted.

The population of Cos had much diminished of late years. There were formerly 20,000 inhabitants; and of this number only eight or ten thousand now remained. Three thousand had been carried off by a severe plague the year before; and great numbers had been draughted, to serve as soldiers in the war. The island contains five villages: it produces corn and cattle. Its fine rich grapes were now selling for less than a half-penny the pound; pomegranates and melons were in great abundance, and of delicious flavour. Its trade consists in the manufacture of barrels, and in the sale of wine, brandy, raisins, lemon-juice, preserved fruit, &c. Corn sold for four *piastres* and a half the *quilot* :* the average price was reckoned at seventy or eighty *parâs*.

* The *quilot*, according to Tournefort, is a measure of three *panaches*; each *panache* is eight *oques*; and each *oque* is twenty-five pounds. See *Tournefort. Voy. du Lev. tom. II. p. 109. Lyon, 1717.*

CHAP. IX.

COS TO PATMOS.

Messenger from the Vizier—Botanical discoveries—Casiot vessel—Ancient custom of singing Vespers—Leria and Lepsia—Arrival at Patmos—Critical situation of a part of the French army—Monastery of St. John—Library—Ignorance of the Monks—Manuscripts—Discovery of the Patmos Plato—Other valuable Works—Manuscript in the hand writing of Alexius Comnenus—State of the island—Ancient Medals—Extensive prospect—Holy Grotto—Dinner given by the French Officers—Barthelemy—Women of the island—Bells—Stratagem for obtaining the Greek Manuscripts—Fruitless attempt to leave the island—View of Samos—Icaria—Western port of Patmos—Geological phænomena—Plants and animals—Marble Cippi—Departure from Patmos—Prognostics of Greek mariners.

On Tuesday, October the sixth, as we were sitting with the governor, a Greek officer of the name of Riley, who had been interpreter to colonel, now sir Charles Holloway, in the Turkish army, arrived from Grand Caire with dispatches from the vizier. He brought letters for us from England, which had been sent first to Constantinople, and then to Egypt, and yet reached us with so recent a date as the twelfth of August. When he entered the governor's apartment, we supposed him to be a Turk: he wore the Turkish habit, and conversed with great fluency in the Turkish language: presently, to our surprise, he addressed us in English; and afterwards gave us intelligence of all that had happened at Caire since we left that city. A report had reached him after he sailed from Egypt, that the vizier had been ordered into exile, to *Giddah*, where the air is supposed to be so unwholesome, that the punishment of being banished thither is considered as almost equivalent with death. Hearing that we intended to visit Patmos, he requested a passage thither in our vessel: his wife resided upon that island, and it was his wish to see her, in his way to Constantinople. We readily acceded to his proposal; and a very fortunate circumstance it proved, in the

services he rendered to us during a negotiation with the monks of Patmos for the manuscripts we afterward obtained.

We employed the rest of our time principally in botanical excursions, and were very successful; having found no less than six non-descript species: although, as we mingled all the specimens collected in this island in March with those which we now gathered in October, we cannot precisely state the time when any particular plant came into flower. There is, however, reason to believe that they principally belong to the autumnal season; as our stay was very short in March, and it was before observed that the plants of this island had not then attained a state of maturity.* According to our usual plan, we shall only refer the reader now to the new-discovered species; reserving for a general list, in the Appendix to this part of our travels, the names and the localities of others, whether rare or common, which preceding authors have already described.†

* See Chap. VII. of the former Section, p. 205.

† I. A very curious small species of Plantain (*Plantago* Linn.) of which there is a figure and description in Clusius's "*Plantarum Rariorum Historia*," lib. v. cap. 16. under the name of *Catanance prima Dioscoridis*; but this has been omitted by Linnæus, and by all the editors of his works. The whole plant is scarcely an inch and a half in height; its leaves are of a narrow lance-shape, and ciliated; the flowers in little round upright heads; and these, together with the short stalks supporting them, are clothed with long soft wool. The species ought to be arranged near the Cretan Plantain (*Plantago Cretica*), to which it is nearly allied; but it may be easily distinguished, either by the leaves, or by the heads of the flowers. We have called it *PLANTAGO CATANANCHE*. *Plantago foliis lanceolato linearibus, ciliatis, pilosis; spicâ subrotundâ erectâ, scapo brevissimo bracteisque lanatis. Catanance prima Dioscoridis. Clus. Plant. Rar. Hist. 2 p. 112. cum tabulâ.*

II. A non-descript species of *Crow foot Ranunculus*, with slender erect unbranched stems, and single flowers. We have called it *RANUNCULUS GRACILIS*. *Ranunculus caule simplici, gracili, erecto: foliis radicalibus quinquepartitis tripartitisque, laciniis flabelliformibus sinuato-dentatis; caulinis multipartitis laciniis sublinearibus, glabris. Radices tuberosæ, fasciculatæ. Folia radicalia circumscriptione cordato subrotundâ, diametro pollicario vel parum ultra; petioli longi, pilosi: folia caulina duo seu tres sessilia, superiora subtrifida. Caulis pedalis, teres, pubescens. Calyx glaber, reflexus. Corollâ magnitudine R. repentis, flavâ. Petala obovata.*

III. An elegant non-descript species of *Trefoil*, (*Trifolium* Linn.) This we have named *TRIFOLIUM ORNATUM*. *Trifolium annuum, caulibus ramosis suberectis, foliolis obovatis argutissime serratis, mucronatis, glabris; Stipulis oppositis; spicis terminalibus, solitariis subrotundis, basi bracteatis, apice sterilibus; bracteis subovatis, calycis dentibus subulatis equalibus. Caulis striati pilosi. Folia striata vix semipollicaria, summa opposita. Petioli partiales ciliati, brevissimi. Spicæ pedunculatæ foliis breviores. Bractiæ subordato-ovata, nitida. Calyx corollâ dimidio brevior, basin versûs pilosus.*

IV. A non-descript herbaceous milk-mart (*Polygala* Linn.) with racemes of pale blue flowers. We have called it *POLYGALA ASCENDENS*. *Polygala floribus cristatis racemis axillaribus, pedunculatis; aliis calycinis corollâ breviori-*

On Wednesday, October the seventh, our interpreter, Antonio, returned from *Búdrún* with the governor's *chiaoux*; in a small *caïque*, manned by a single family of the island of *Casos*, consisting of four individuals; viz. a young widower, his son, his brother, and a very old man his uncle. Antonio had found no vessel that would suit us in the port of *Búdrún*; and was returning in the open boat which conveyed him, when, coming from the harbour, he beheld the Casiot bark, coasting slowly eastward, and within hail. Having boarded this vessel, he found that it was empty, returning to *Casos* for want of a freight. He easily prevailed upon the poor Casiots to steer for Stanchio, in the hope of being hired by us, and we very gladly availed ourselves of the opportunity. The vessel was old, and the large triangular sails were tattered and rotten. It was, in fact, nothing more than an open boat; a man of middle stature, standing in the hatchway with his feet in the hold, had at least the half of his body above the deck: it was impossible therefore to contrive any thing like a cabin in which to stand upright; but by clearing and cleansing this place, we found we could obtain a shelter for the night, and during the day we should of course prefer

bus obtusis nervosis; caulibus herbaceis adscendentibus; foliis lanceolatis acutis, inferioribus obovatis obtusis. Caules quinque ad octo pollices longi, porum ramosi. Folia minutè villosa, lineas quinque ad septem longa, inferiora gradatim breviora et obtusiora. Racemi bracteati sex ad decemflori. Bractea pedicellis longiores, lanceolatae, mox deciduae. Flores P. Sibiricae duplò majores, carulei.

V. A non-descript species of *Hartwort*, (*Tordylium* Linn.) about a span in height, with leaflets notched at the base, and rounded above with a few blunt teeth on their margin. The *Tordylium humile* of Mons. Desfontaines is the species which it most resembles; but from this it differs, in not having the leaflets lobed, and by its flowers, which are four times as large as in that species. We have called it *TORDYLIUM INSULARE*. *Tordylium foliis pinnatis, foliis cordato-subreniformibus inciso-dentatis, petiolis pilosis; involucri foliolis subulatis brevibus subguinis; involucelli laciniis ciliatis pedicellos excedentibus; floribus majusculis; seminibus crenulatis.*

VI. A very showy non-descript species of *Allium*; varying from about ten inches to above two feet in height; the leaves very thin and delicate, streaked with about twenty parallel lines, and finely fringed; their breadth from about half an inch to three quarters; the umbel of the flowers straight; nearly hemispherical, with the number of rays varying from eight to about twenty, according to the size and vigour of the plants; the petals nearly oval, white. We have called it *ALLIUM PULCHRUM*. *Allium caule angulato, basi folioso, foliis caule brevioribus lanceolato-oblongis, subplanis, margine brevissimè ciliatis; umbella larà hemisphaericà, petalis ovalibus staminibus simplicibus longioribus, majusculis; spathâ monophyllâ ventricosâ ætuminato-subrotundâ.* This species is allied to the *Allium Neapolitanum* of Cyrilli; to the *Allium subhirsutum* of Linnæus; and to the *Allium ciliatum* of Curtis and Sims. From the first it differs in the form of the umbel, which at once distinguishes it: from the two last the difference consists in the form of the leaves, the few rays which are found in the umbel, the simple sheath, and the large blossoms.

being upon the deck. Landsmen in harbour, especially during fine weather, are easily reconciled to all chances in preparing to go to sea: without further consideration, we hired this vessel, at the rate of four hundred and fifty piasters per month, engaging to find our own provisions, and leaving the crew to provide for themselves. They fell to work briskly, preparing their vessel for our reception; and by the next evening, at sunset, having every thing necessary on board, we were desired to embark. Mr. Riley went with us to take leave of the governor, from whom we had experienced great kindness and civility: the Greek bishop, and the worthy French consul, accompanying us to the shore, and taking leave of us upon the deck of our little bark. At eight o'clock we were under weigh: a land breeze drove us smoothly along; and the Casiots began their evening hymn. This reminded us of a passage in *Longus*,* who, in the very seas we were now traversing, describes a similar custom: "While they rowed, one of the crew sang to them; *the rest, as a chorus, at intervals joined with him.*"† The Venetian sailors have a hymn which they sing exactly after the same manner, the crew being all upon deck at the time, and upon their knees ‡ It is, in fact, a very ancient custom, and it is still common all over the Mediterranean.

The next morning, October the ninth, we found ourselves to be opposite to the small isle of *Leria*, bearing s. w. and by w. distant eight miles, the wind being tranquil, and the

* Longus, lib. iii. *Paris*, 1778.

† Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ, καθάπερ χορὸς, ὁμοφώνως
Κατὰ καιρὸν τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς ἔβδων. *Ibid.*

‡ We have preserved the words of a Venetian hymn, as we heard it sung every evening, when the weather permitted, in the Black Sea, on board the Venetian brig in which we sailed from Russia for Constantinople:

"O santa Barbara, nostra avvocata !
Che sei madre de la Maria,
Questa nave, l'artilleria,
Sempre da voi lascia guardata !
CHOR. O Santa Barbara! &c.

"O santissimo Saramento !
Jesu Christi, nostro signore !
Qui che guarda tutti l'hore !
Qui che salva ogni momento !
CHOR. O Santissimo!" &c.

sea calm.* We saw the monastery and town of *Lera*, as it is now called.

This little island has three harbours, and it is said by Dapper to produce abundance of the wood of aloes, so much esteemed in Turkey as a perfume.† Dapper's assertion may be doubted; for the enormous price of this wood at Constantinople seems to prove that it is not found abundantly anywhere so near to that city. The character of the ancient inhabitants of *Leria*, who were originally a Milesian colony,‡ gave rise to the very ancient epigram of *Phocylides*, so often in after ages parodied and imitated, but perhaps never with more success than by our illustrious countryman, Porson:§

Καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδω· Λέριοι κακοί· ἄχ' ὁ μὲν, ὅς δ' οὐ·
Πάντες, πλὴν Προκλῆς καὶ Προκλῆς Λέριος.

At half past eight A. M. we made the island of Patmos;|| and afterwards, passing between *Leria* and *Lepsia*, Samos appeared most beautifully in view, covered by a silvery mist, softening every object, but concealing none. *Lepsia* is now called *Lipso*. At eleven o'clock A. M. we entered the port of *La Scala*,** in PATMOS. We were surprised by meeting several boats filled with French soldiers, fishing. In order to prevent our *caïque* from being fired at, as a pirate vessel, (which she much resembled, and probably had been,) we had hoisted an English flag given to us by captain Clarke,

* "Lera is nine leagues N. W. and by W. from Stanchio." *Perry's View of the Othoman empire*, p. 482. Lond. 1743.

† Dapper Description des isles de l'Archipel. p. 183. Amst. 1703.

‡ Strabon. Geog. lib. xiv. p. 910. Oxon. 1807. Strabo writes the name of this island both Λέρια and Λίγος.

§ In the following epigram upon the Greek scholars of Germany, which the author has transcribed from his own hand-writing.

Νήϊδες ἔστε μέτρωι, ὦ Τεύτορες, οὐχ' ὅ μ' ἐρ' ὅς δ' οὐ·

Παύτες, πλὴν ΕΡΜΑΝΝΟC· ὅ δ' Ἑρμαννος σφόδρα Τεύτωρ.

The Germans in Greek
Are sadly to seek,
Not five in five score,
But ninety-five more:
All, save only *Herman*,
And *Herman's* a German.

|| "Patmos is six leagues from Lera, N. W. by N." *Perry's View of the Levant*, p. 483. Lond. 1743.

** Dapper says it received the name of *La Scala* from the quay which has been constructed here; but it may have been so called from the steep ascent to the monastery, which begins at the landing-place of this harbour.

and recommended for our use in the Archipelago. The Frenchmen, seeing this proud distinction upon our humble skiff, called out, by way of taunt, "*Voilà un beau venez-y voir! Le Pavillon Anglois! Tremblez Messieurs!*" They were too numerous to venture a reply, if we had been so disposed; and as soon as we landed, we found the quay covered with French privates, among whom were some of the inferior officers of the French army. These men were a part of the army which had surrendered to our troops in Egypt, on their passage to France. The transport hired for their conveyance was commanded by an Algerine: this man had put into Patmos, under the pretence of careening his vessel: saying that it was unsafe to continue the voyage until this had been done; but it was feared that he intended to seize an opportunity, after landing these Frenchmen, to escape with the ship and all the booty on board. We had been but a short time on shore, when a petition was brought to us signed by the French officers, stating their fears, and begging that we would represent their case to our minister at Constantinople. They said they had already removed their trunks, and were resolved to return no more on board the Algerine; the rascally captain having twice attempted to poison their food. All this was uttered in a very different sort of tone from that in which we had been hailed upon our coming into the harbour, and we entered warmly into their cause. Their situation was, to be sure, critical. They had property belonging to some of the French generals, beside their own effects; and all the cases containing these things were lying upon the open quay. They were forced to appoint a regular guard, day and night; hourly dreading, as they told us, a visit from some of the numerous pirates which swarm around Patmos:* beside all this, the mutinous behaviour of their own men made it impossible for them to rely even upon the sentinels set over the baggage, for they were constantly in a state of intoxication with the wine of the island. As Mr. Riley was going to Constantinople, we wrote to the British ambassador, briefly explaining the event that had taken place: and our letter, as we were afterwards told, procured them another ship. In

* Patmos has always been exposed to the attacks of pirates. Tournesfort relates, that the town was formerly in the port of *La Scala*; but that the pirates compelled its inhabitants to abandon it, and to retire to the heights where it is now situated, close to the monastery of St. John.

the mean time, it was necessary to take some immediate step for the security of their baggage. For this purpose we proposed making an application to the monks of the monastery of the Apocalypse, which is situated two miles and a half from the quay, upon the top of a mountain, in the highest part of all the island, close to the town of Patmos. Here it might be secure from pirates; for the building is strongly fortified, and it is proof against any attack of that nature.* A commissary of the French army proposed to accompany us upon this expedition; and, as the plan was highly approved, we set off without further delay for the convent. The ascent is steep and rugged, but practicable for asses and mules; and upon the backs of these animals we proposed to convey the trunks. When we arrived at the monastery, we were quite struck by its size and substantial appearance. It is a very powerful fortress, built upon a steep rock, with several towers and lofty thick walls; and if duly mounted with guns, might be made impregnable. According to Tournefort, it is said to have been founded by Alexius Comnenus, in consequence of the persuasion of St. Christodulus;† but Dapper relates, that the saint himself founded the monastery, having obtained permission to this effect from Alexius, toward the end of the tenth century, when he retired to Patmos, to avoid the persecution of the Turks.‡ St. Christodulus had been abbot of *Latros*, a day and a half's journey from Ephesus, where he presided over twenty convents.§ We were received by the superior and by the bursar of the monastery, in the refectory. Having made known the cause of our coming, we presented to them our circular letter from the Capudan Pasha: this being written in Turkish, was interpreted by Mr. Riley. After a short consultation, they acquiesced in the proposal made for the French officers; and agreed to receive the whole of the baggage, at the quay, within their walls; also a single officer to superintend the care of it, until a vessel should arrive from Constantinople, or from Smyrna, for its removal. This business being settled, we asked per-

* "Palmossa, Patmo anticamente detta, insula, pesta nell'Arcipelago: sopra loquale: S. Joannis Evangelista scrisse il sacro Apocalypsi: essendo stato mandato in esilio da Domitiano Imperat. In memoria delquale, un bellissimo Monasterio del suo nome, da suoi Discipoli fu fabricato: et da caloiri hora habitato: conservandosi da corsari essere offeso." *Martin. Crus. Turco-Gracia*, lib. iv. p. 302. *Annot. Epist. Macar. Basil. sine anno.*

† *Voyage du Levant*, tom. II. p. 141. *Lyons*, 1717.

‡ Dapper, *Déscr. des Isles de l'Archipel*, p. 181. *Amst.* 1703.

§ *Ibid.*

mission to see the library, which was readily granted; and while the French commissary went into the town to hire some mules, the two *Caloyers*, by whom we had been received, conducted us thither.

We entered a small oblong chamber, having a vaulted stone roof; and found it to be nearly filled with books, of all sizes, in a most neglected state; some lying upon the floor, a prey to the damp and to worms; others standing upon shelves, but without any kind of order. The books upon the shelves were all printed volumes; for these, being more modern, were regarded as the more valuable, and had a better station assigned them than the rest, many of which were considered only as so much rubbish. Some of the printed books were tolerably well bound, and in good condition. The superior said *they* were his favourites; but when we took down one or two of them to examine their contents, we discovered that neither the superior nor his colleague were able to read.* They had a confused traditionary recollection of the names of some of them, but knew no more of their contents than the grand Signior. We saw here the first edition of the *Anthologia*, in quarto, printed at Florence, in capital letters, A. D. MCCCXCIV. a beautiful copy. At the extremity of this chamber, which is opposite to the window, a considerable number of old volumes of parchment, some with covers and some without, were heaped upon the floor in the utmost disorder; and there were evident proofs that these had been cast aside, and condemned to answer any purpose for which the parchment might be required. When we asked the superior what they were? he replied, turning up his nose with an expression of indifference and contempt, *Χηρόγυρα*! It was indeed a moment in which a literary traveller might be supposed to doubt the evidence of his senses, for the whole of this condemned heap consisted entirely of Greek manuscripts, and some of them were of the highest antiquity. We sought in vain for the manuscript of Homer, said to have been copied by a student from Cos, and alluded to upon a former occasion. We even ventured to ask the ignorant monks, if they

* Mons. De Choiseul Gouffier (*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grece*, tom I. p. 103.) found only three monks in Patmos who knew how to read. Sonnini speaks of their extraordinary ignorance; but he is mistaken when he affirms that they have no library. "There is no library," says he, "in the convent: and of what utility would it be among people who, for the most part, cannot read." See Sonnini's *Travels in Greece*, &c. ch. 36. p. 473. Lond. 1801.

had ever heard of the existence of such a relic in their library. The bursar* maintained that he had, and that he should know the manuscript if he saw it.† Presently he

* Paul Ricaut has well described the state in which we found the Patmos library; and also mentions this office of *bursar*, whose business is to take care of the books. "Every monastery hath its library of books, which are kept in a lofty tower, under the custody of one whom they call *Σκευοφύλακα*, who is also their steward, receives their money, and renders an account of all their expenses; but we must not imagine that these libraries are conserved in that order as ours are in the parts of Christendom; that they are ranked and compiled in method on shelves, with labels of the contents; or that they are brushed and kept clean, like the libraries of our colleges; but they are piled one on the other, without order or method, covered with dust, and exposed to the worm." *Ricaut's State of the Greek and Armenian churches*, p. 260. *Lond.* 1679.

† This manuscript was afterwards discovered by Mr. Walpole in the hands of a schoolmaster, at the grotto of the Apocalypse, below the monastery. Mr. Walpole's observations upon this library are particularly interesting; because they prove that one of the manuscripts brought away by the author was known to Villosion; and that the removal of the rest had excited some sensation in Greece, as appears by the inscription over the door.

"There was at Patmos, for many years, a school frequented by the modern Greeks, which possessed a higher reputation than any other in [the Levant. This has now yielded the pre-eminence to one established at *Kideni-ais*, near Smyrna. A Greek in the island of Antiparos, who accompanied us to the grotto there, told me he had been educated at Patmos; and repeated to me the beginning of the romance of the *Æthiopics* of Heliodorus. During our stay at Patmos we visited the lower monastery, where the grotto is shown in which St. John wrote the Apocalypse; it is called *Θεοσκοπός*. Here is also a small school: we found the schoolmaster reading a manuscript Homer, with some notes; it was written on paper; and did not appear of great date.

"The monastery on the summit of the island is a very handsome building: from it, we had a most extensive view over the archipelago, and some of the Greek islands. In the two visits I made to Patmos, I was not permitted to examine, as I wished, the collection of books and papers in the library of the monastery of St. John. There was no Greek in the place from whom I could obtain any satisfactory information. On the shelves, in compartments, are arranged theological works: these Villosion, in his visit to the island, found less injured than the manuscripts of classical writers. The monks told him, that, twenty years before his arrival, they had burnt from two to three thousand manuscripts; *duo vel tria millia circiter codicum combustiss.* Of these *reliquiæ Danaüm*, a copy of the *LEXICON* OF CYRILL, had escaped the flames, and was preserved by the Abbot.

"On one side of the library is a confused heap of what appears, for the most part, to be manuscripts, consisting both of vellum and paper. Here, if an accurate search were made, might be found probably many literary fragments of importance. Over the door of the library are the following lines; intended, doubtless, for hexameter verses: they were placed there, as the date informs us, in 1802.

Διὺρ', ἄνερ, κείνται δοσαι φαεινὰι χειρόγραφοι βιβλοί,
Ἄνδρ' ῥά φέρτεροι πινυτῶ χρυσίου δοκίουσαι·
Ταῦτ' ἄρα τήρεε-φύλαξ σέο μάλλον βίβλοιο,
Τῶν δόμος οὐνεκα δὲ νῦν τοι γίνετο φειγγέσολος γε.
ἐπὶ ἱούρ Λωβ' Μήνος Αὐγούσου.

produced from the heap the volume he pretended to recognise: it was a copy of the poems of Gregory of Nazianzen, written upon vellum, evidently as old as the ninth century. The cover and some of the outer leaves had been torn off; but the rest was perfect. The ink had become red; a circumstance alluded to by Montfaucon, in ascertaining the age of Greek manuscripts; and the writing throughout manifested an equal degree of antiquity.* What was to be done? To betray any extraordinary desire to get possession of these treasures would inevitably prevent all possibility of obtaining any of them. We referred the matter to Mr. Riley, as to a person habituated in dealing with knavish Greeks; and presently such a jabbering took place, accompanied with so many significant shrugs, winks, nods and grimaces, that it was plain something like a negotiation was going on. The author, meanwhile, continued to inspect the heap; and had soon selected the fairest specimen of Grecian calligraphy which has descended to modern times. It was a copy of the twenty-four first dialogues of Plato, written throughout upon vellum, in the same exquisite character, concluding with a date, and the name of the calligraphist. The whole of this could not be ascertained at the instant.†

"IN THIS PLACE ARE LYING WHATEVER MANUSCRIPTS THERE ARE OF NOTE: MORE ESTIMABLE ARE THEY TO A WISE MAN THAN GOLD; GUARD THEM, THEREFORE, WATCHFULLY, MORE THAN YOUR LIFE; FOR ON THEIR ACCOUNT IS THIS MONASTERY NOW BECOME CONSPICUOUS.—IN THE MONTH AUGUST, THE YEAR 1802."

Walpole's MS. Journal.

The inscription over the door of the library has been added since the author's visit; and the *Lexicon of Cyrril*, mentioned by Villoison, is the identical Codex he bought of the Superior, and brought away. For a more detailed account of the MSS. of Greece, the reader is referred to some remarks by Mr. Walpole, in the beginning of this section.

* "Quod autem jam in vetustioribus manuscriptis Græcis conspicimus atramentum, a prisco nigrore multum recedit: nec tamen omnino flavum languidumque evasit; sed fulvum rutilumque manet, ut persæpe a minii colore non multum recedat. Id autem observet in Codicibus permultis a quarto ad duodecimum usque sæculum." *Montfaucon. Palæog. Græc. lib. i. c. l. p. 2. Paris, 1708.*

† This manuscript, after the author's return to England, remained in the hands of his friend, the late professor Porson, until his death. It is now, with the other MSS. from Patmos, &c. in the Bodleian library at Oxford. For further particulars concerning it, the reader is therefore referred to the catalogue of all the MSS. brought from Greece by the author, written by the celebrated professor Gaisford, and printed at the Clarendon press in 1812; a work which has impressed every scholar with the most profound admiration of the writer's learning and great critical acumen. Reference may also be made to the observations of one, who could best have appreciated professor Gaisford's surprising talents; namely, of the illustrious Porson himself; as they are now published in his *Adversaria*, by his successor, professor Monk, and the Rev. Charles Blomfield; the learned editors, respectively, of Euripides and of Æschylus. To mention every person who has contribu-

It was a single volume in folio, bound in wood. The cover was full of worms, and falling to pieces: a paper label appeared at the back, inscribed in a modern hand, *Διάλογοι Σωκράτους*: but the letters of *Plato's* name, separated by stars, appeared very distinctly as a head piece to the first page of the manuscript, in this manner:

Π * Λ * Α * Τ * Ω * Ν * Ο * C

A postscript at the end of the volume stated that the manuscript had been "*written by John the Calligraphist, for Arethas, Dean of Patrae, in the month of November 896, the 14. year of the Indiction, and 6404. year of the world, in the reign of Leo, son of Basilus, for the sum of thirteen Byzantine Nummi,*" about eight guineas of our money. The manuscript mentioned by Dorville on Chariton* is one year older.

The author afterwards discovered a **LEXICON OF ST. CYRILL** of Alexandria, written upon paper, without any date, and contained in a volume of Miscellanies. He also found two small volumes of the **PSALMS** and of **GREEK HYMNS**, accompanied by unknown characters, serving as *ancient Greek musical notes*. They are the same which the Abbé Barthelemy and other writers have noticed; but their history has never been illustrated. Besides these, he observed, in a manuscript of very diminutive size, the curious work of **PHILE** upon animals,† containing an account of the *Ibis*, bound up with twenty-three other tracts upon a great variety of subjects.‡ After removing these volumes from a quantity of theological writings, detached fragments, worm-eaten wooden covers, (that had belonged to books once literally bound in boards,) scraps of parchment, lives of hermits, and other litter, all further inquiry was stopped by the prompti-

ted to the celebrity of this inestimable volume, would be to enumerate the names of almost all the eminent Greek scholars in the kingdom. Of the importance of the marginal notes, and the curious fragments they contained from Greek plays that are lost, with a variety of particulars relating to the other manuscripts here mentioned, the author does not intend to add a syllable: it were presumptive and superfluous to do so, after the observations already published upon the subject. His only aim is, to give a general narrative of the manner in which he succeeded in rescuing these manuscripts from rottenness and certain destruction in the monastery.

* See Dorville on Chariton, pp. 49, 50.

† Τοῦ Φιλῆ περὶ ζώων ιδιότητος διὰ στίχων.

‡ See Professor Gaisford's "*Catalogus sive Notitia Manuscriptorum,*" &c, p. 62. Oxon. 1812.

tude and caution of Mr. Riley, who told us the superior had agreed to sell the few articles we had selected, but that it would be impossible to purchase more; and that even these would be lost, if we ventured to expose them to the observation of any of the inhabitants of the town. Then telling us what sum he had agreed to give for them, he concealed two of the smaller volumes in the folds of his Turkish habit, entrusting to the *honour* of the two *Caloyers* the task of conveying the others on board our vessel in the harbour. Upon this *honour*, it must be confessed, we did not rely with so much confidence as we ought to have done; but as there was no other method which promised any chance of success, we were forced to comply; and we left, as we believed, the most valuable part of our acquisition in very doubtful hands. Just as we had concluded this bargain, the French commissary returned; and finding us busied in the library, afforded an amusing specimen of the sort of system pursued by his countrymen, upon such occasions. "Do you find," said he, "any thing worth your notice, among all this rubbish?" We answered, that there many things we would gladly purchase. "Purchase!" he added, "I should never think of purchasing from such a herd of swine: if I saw any thing I might require, I should, without ceremony, put it in my pocket, and say, *Bon jour!*"

After this, some keys were produced, belonging to an old chest that stood opposite to the door of the library; and we were shown a few antiquities which the monks had been taught to consider as valuable. Among these, the first thing they showed to us was AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR ALEXIUS COMNENUS, concerning the establishment of their monastery, inscribed upon a large roll, and precisely corresponding, in the style of the manuscript, with the fragment preserved by Montfaucon in his *Palæographia*.* Beside this were other rolls of record, the deeds of succeeding emperors, with their seals affixed, relating to the affairs of the convent. We calculated the number of volumes in the library to be about a thousand; and of this number above two hundred were in manuscript. After we had

* "IMPERATORIS GRÆCI EPISTOLÆ INSIGNIS FRAGMENTUM." See *Montfaucon, Palæog. Græc.* p. 266. *Paris*, 1708. This Epistle is believed by Montfaucon (from the remains of the signature * * * * TANTINUS) to have been written in the ninth century, by *Constantinus Copronymus*, to *Pepin*, the French king. The style of the writing very much resembles that which is now lying in the library at Patmos.

left the library; we saw upon a shelf in the refectory the most splendid manuscript of the whole collection, in two folio volumes, richly adorned: it was called the *THEOLOGY OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZEN*,* and purported to be throughout IN THE HAND-WRITING OF THE EMPEROR ALEXIUS.† Nothing could be more beautiful. As a singular circumstance, it may also be mentioned, that we saw upon the same shelf, and by the side of this, a manuscript of the writings of Gregory's greatest admirer, *ERASMUS*.

The Capudan Pashá's letter enabled us to order bread from the island for our voyage; and this the monks promised to see provided. The inhabitants import wheat from the Black Sea; and they have twelve small vessels engaged in commerce, with which they trade to different ports in the Euxine and to the Adriatic, bringing corn for their own use, and also carrying it as far as Ancona in Italy. In Tournefort's time there were hardly three hundred men upon the island, and at least twenty women to one man. The population remains nearly the same as it was when he wrote; for, as it is observed by Sonnini,‡ "While the monasteries swarm with sluggards, the fields become deserts;" and population is consequently diminished. Yet, in the neighbouring isles, Patmos is described as the University of the Archipelago: it is hither that the Greek families send their sons to be educated, by a set of monks unable to read their own, or any other language. . After we left the monastery, we paid a visit to Mr. Antonio Gilley, the Prussian consul, of whom we purchased several Greek medals. Among these, were a bronze medal of Eleusis, representing Ceres in her car, drawn by two serpents, with a sow on the reverse; and two beautiful gold medals of *Lysimachus* and of *Philip*, in as

* Cave mentions a work of *Gregorius Nazianzenus* under this title: "*De Theologiâ Orationes V. contra Eunomianos et Macedonianos*:" (see *Scriptor. Ecclesiast. Hist. Lit. sæculum Arianum*, p. 200. Lond. 1688.) but the Patmos MS. being in two large folio volumes, in all probability contains other of Gregory's writings.

† This MS. is noticed in the Patmos Catalogue; (*annexed to this section*;) and the same circumstance is related of the hand-writing of the emperor Alexius: it is there called, in modern Greek, "*A work of Gregory the Theologian, which is in the hand-writing of the emperor Alexius Comnenus; his own hand-writing*:" Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου ἵνα βιβλίον τὸ ὅποιον εἶναι γράψιμον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνένου, τοῦ ἰδίου γράψιμον. There were, however, two *Calligraphists* of this name *Alexius*; the one wrote the *Lives of the Saints* in 1292; the other, a MS. of *Hippocrates* in the fourteenth century. See *Montfaucon, Pal. Gr. lib. i. p. 94. Par. 1708*.

‡ *Travels in Greece, &c. p. 473. Lond. 1801.*

high a state of preservation as if they had been just issued from the mint. The freshness of their appearance might induce a suspicion of their being a modern fabrication, if it were not a well-known fact that to imitate the best coinage of Thrace and Macedonia is impossible; and therefore in such cases we may defy imposture. The present price of Greek medals, throughout the Levant, is generally the same; unless they be found, as it sometimes happens, in the hands of trading antiquaries and ignorant pretenders to a knowledge of antiquity, when the most absurd and exorbitant terms are set upon them. The usual rate of selling them, among the poor artificers in gold and silver found in almost all the towns, is this: for gold medals, twice their weight in Venetian *sequins*; for silver, from two *piastres* to five, or six, according to the size; and for bronze,* about a *parâ* for each medal. Hence it must be evident that, with the exception of the silver, (which are generally of the highest antiquity, and always estimated below their present price in England,) the medals of Greece may be purchased cheaper in London than in the Levant. Indeed, the Grecian copper coinage is now considered as being of such modern date, that it is little valued by collectors of Greek medals.† Roman copper is found in great abundance; and among this may be easily obtained many rare and valuable coins, illustrating the history of Grecian cities, where no medals were struck during the period in which they were governed by their own laws. No medal of Patmos has been discovered; neither is it likely that any ever did exist, as the island was hardly inhabited when the Romans made it a place of exile. The gold medals sold to us by the Prussian consul were, in all probability, not found upon the island, but brought by its trading vessels: it is a common occurrence to meet with such antiquities in the hands of Greek sailors, who collect them for sale. The medal of *Lysimachus* exhibited, as usual, a fine portrait of the deified Alexander; whose image, “expressed on gold or

* The author has generally used the word *bronze* instead of *brass*, as applied to Grecian antiquities; and for this reason: ancient bronze consists of copper containing about ten per cent. of tin, and therefore differs from brass, which is a compound of copper and zinc; but whether the constituents of ancient bronze be found in the Grecian copper coinage has not perhaps been determined.

† It has been sold in London for a price equivalent to the weight of the metal.

silver," was so long considered as propitious to its possessor.* Considering the medals of *Lysimachus*, and this image, the author must refer to a former work, rather than repeat what has been already published;† but with regard to the gold medals of *Philip*, bearing the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, so much doubt has generally prevailed, that it may be proper to add a few words upon the subject. It has been usual to attribute them to PHILIP THE SECOND, the father of Alexander the Great, simply from the circumstance of the gold mines discovered during his time, and of which he was the possessor.‡ There is, however, much greater probability that they were struck during the reign of PHILIP ARIDÆUS, and for the following reasons; *first*, that some of them have the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, a title not found upon Greek medals before the time of Alexander the Great;§ *secondly*, that in these medals the art of coining was carried to a degree of perfection unknown in any former period, and to which it never afterward attained. The medals of the Macedonian kings before the age of Alexander have no resemblance, whether in form, in weight, in substance, or in the style of their fabrication, to those which bear the name of PHILIP; the only examples to be compared with them, in relative beauty and perfection of workmanship, are the medals of Lysimachus; and even these are in a certain degree inferior. Many of the medals of Alexander the Great, although remarkable for boldness of execution, and for the sharpness of the *die*, do yet betray something of the rude style discernible in the coinage of his predecessors, although the art was subsequently carried to such an extraordinary point of perfection during the reigns of Lysimachus and of Philip Aridæus. In order to form a correct opinion upon this subject, and to be convinced that the gold coinage now alluded to did not belong to the age of Philip the Second, something more is requisite than the examination of a particular medal; it is necessary

* "Dicuntur juvari in omni actu suo qui Alexandrium expressum vel auræ gestitant vel argento." *Trebell. Pollio. Quiet. xiii. p. 1090. Hist. Rom. Script. apud H. Steph. 1568.*

† See "*Tomb of Alexander.*" Camb. 1805.

‡ Pellerin *Recueil de Médailles de Rois. p. 9. Paris, 1762.*

§ Hardouin and Frœlich ascribed all the medals with this legend, to Philip Aridæus. Eckhel maintained a different opinion. See *Doctrina Num. Vet. Par. I. vol. II. p. 94. Vindobon, 1794.*

to view the whole series of the coins of the Macedonian kings, and by observing the changes introduced into their mint, to become acquainted with the style which denoted the progress of the art at any particular period; from the unfigured reverses and indented squares of Alexander the First and of Archelaüs, struck nearly five centuries before the Christian era, to the exquisite perfection of design and the elegant fabrication, visible in the medals of Macedon and Thrace, under the immediate successors of Alexander the Great.

A few of the inhabitants came to the consul's house to see us. Nothing can be more remarkable than the situation of the town, built upon the edge of a vast crater, sloping off on either side like the roof of a tiled house. Perry has compared it to "*an ass's back*;" upon the highest ridge of which stands the monastery.* The inhabitants, therefore, have no space for exercise, either on foot or on horse-back; they can only descend and ascend by the rugged path that leads to the harbour. On one of the towers of the monastery a *look-out* is regularly kept for the pirates; the view here being so extensive, that no vessel can approach the island without being perceived. We returned to enjoy the prospect from this place. The sight was extremely magnificent: we commanded the whole island of Amorgos,† which is nearly forty miles from the nearest point of Patmos;‡ and were surrounded by many of the grandest objects in the Archipelago.

As we descended from the great monastery of St. John, we turned off upon our right to visit a smaller edifice of the same nature, erected over a cave, or grot, where the *Apocalypse*, attributed to that evangelist, is said to have been written. It can hardly be considered as any other than a hermitage, and it is entirely dependent upon the principal monastery. As to the cave itself, whence this building derives its origin, and to which it owes all its pretended sanctity, it may be supposed that any other cave

* Perry's view of the Levant, p. 483. Lond. 1743. Tournefort makes the same comparison with reference to another island, that of St. Minas: "Elle est faite en dos d'âne." *Voyage du Levant*. tom. II. lett. x. p. 150. Lyon, 1717.

† Thirteen leagues, according to the chart of D'Anville, published at Paris, October, 1756.

would have answered the purpose fully as well; it is not spacious enough to have afforded a habitation even for a hermit; and there is not the slightest probability that any thing related concerning it, by the monks, is founded in truth. The reader will find a very accurate representation of it in Tournefort,* showing the crevices in the stone through which it is pretended that the holy spirit conveyed its dictates to the Apostle. It affords another striking proof, in addition to many already enumerated, that there is no degree of absurdity too gross for the purposes of *altarage* and superstition. There seemed to be something like a school held in the building erected about this cave; but the only monk who showed the place to us, and who appeared to superintend the seminary, was not much better informed than his godly brethren in the parent monastery.†

Descending from this place towards the port of *La Scala*, we were met by several of the Frenchmen, coming with the commissary to invite us to dinner; so grateful were they for the attention paid to their request, and the consequent safety of their baggage, that each seemed to strive with the other who could render us the greater civility. We accepted their invitation; and were conducted into a warehouse near the quay, where a large table was prepared with fish, wine, and biscuit. Here we found several French women conversing with their usual gayety, and we all sat down together. During dinner, the conversation turned upon the events that had happened in Egypt; and, as each began to boast of his personal prowess in the late campaign, some contradictions took place, and a most turbulent scene of dispute ensued. In the midst of this a figure entered the warehouse, whose appearance silenced the whole party, and was particularly gratifying to our curiosity. It was *Barthelemy*, the famous Greek pirate, who engaged in the French service under Bonaparte, and was chief of a regiment of mamelukes in Egypt. His figure was uncommonly martial and dignified; he wore the mameluke dress, and carried a large knotted club as a walking staff. Placing him-

* Voyage du Levant, tom. II p. 145. à Lyon, 1717.

† Mr. Walpole, who arrived afterwards, has mentioned in his journal that the schoolmaster was able to read. He found him reading a manuscript of the *Odyssey* of Homer. See the extract from Mr. Walpole's Journal, in a preceding page of this chapter.

self at the table, he began to complain, in a very hoarse voice, of the treatment he had experienced, which he stated to be contrary to the most solemn stipulations; contrary to his deserts; and highly dishonorable to the French army, for whom he had fought so many battles, and made such important sacrifices. They made free, it seemed, with his women; of whom he had many that he was conveying as his property to France. One or two of the principal persons present endeavoured to pacify him, by the assurance that he should not be molested in future: and filling a large goblet of wine, proposed to him to drink "Success to the republic, and the liberation of Greece." The wary old corsair did not appear to relish the toast; and had probably, by this time, both heard and seen quite enough of Gallic emancipation.

We remained near a week at Patmos. The next ^day we revisited the monastery, and were again admitted to the library. We found it would be impossible to purchase any other manuscripts than those for which we had stipulated; for upon this and every subsequent occasion some of the inhabitants of the town thought proper to accompany us into the convent. The superior took occasion to assure us, that both he and the bursar were willing enough to part with the *χειρόγραφα*; but that if it were known to have brought them any gain, the people of Patmos, acting as spies for the Capudan Pasha, would make it the cause of a very heavy imposition upon the monastery. We could not procure a catalogue, either of the manuscripts or of the printed books.* This day we dined with the monks, and afterwards went again into the town. The women of the island, here collected as it were upon a single point, are so generally handsome, that it is an uncommon sight to meet with any who are otherwise. Their houses are kept very clean; it is customary with them to raise their beds, at least ten feet from the floor; and they ascend to them by steps. Dapper mentions several villages in Patmos, existing at present only

* The Marquis of Sligo afterwards visited Patmos, and obtained the catalogue alluded to in a preceding note; it is written in modern Greek, and contains a list of all the books in the Patmos library. This catalogue his lordship kindly presented to the author. Nothing is said in it as to the editions of the different authors, nor a syllable concerning the age of the manuscripts; the reader is, however, referred to it for more detailed information concerning the latter; and to the dissertation by Mr. Walpole, annexed to this section.

in his work.* The island produces very little wheat, and still less of barley; even the corn consumed in the monastery is brought from the Black Sea. There are several bells at the monastery, which the monks are frequently ringing. The enjoyment of this noise is considered as a great indulgence; bells being prohibited by the Turks. Dapper says, that, excepting upon Mount Libanus, Patmos is the only place in all the Turkish empire, where bells may be heard;† in this he is, however, mistaken, for Naxos has the same privilege.

The whole of Sunday, October the eleventh, was passed in great anxiety, being the day on which the superior of the monastery had engaged to send the remaining manuscripts purchased by the author from the library. Mr. Riley had left Patmos for Constantinople; and we began to fear, as the evening approached, that his absence might become the pretext for a breach of contract on the part of the monks. Towards sunset, being upon the deck of our caïque, and looking toward the mountain, we discerned a person coming down the steep descent from the monastery toward the port; presently, as he drew near, we perceived that he had a large basket upon his head, and that he was coming towards the quay, opposite to the spot where our vessel was at anchor. Upon his arrival, we saw him making signs for a boat; and we sent to him the little skiff belonging to our caïque. As he came along-side, he said aloud that he had brought the bread ordered for us in consequence of our letter from the Capudan Pasha; but coming upon deck, he gave a significant wink, and told us the superior desired that we would "empty the basket ourselves, and count the loaves, to see that all was right." We took the hint, and hurried with the precious charge into our birth, where, having turned the basket bottom upwards, we found, to our great joy, the manuscript of Plato, the POEMS OF GREGORY, the work of PHILE, with the other tracts, and the volume of miscellanies containing the LEXICON OF ST. CYRILL: these we instantly concealed beneath a mattress in one of our cots; and making a grand display of the loaves, returned with the basket upon deck, giving a handsome present to the porter, and desiring he would inform the superior, with our most grateful acknowledgments, that "*all was perfectly*

* Dapper, Description des Isles de l'Archipel. p. 181. Amst. 1703.

† Ibid. p. 180.

right." Having set him again on shore, we gave orders to our captain to have every thing ready for sailing the next morning, and to stand out of the port as soon after sunrise as possible, intending to leave Patmos.

In this design we were, however, disappointed; but as the delay which ensued gave us an opportunity of discovering some curious geological phenomena, we had no reason to regret that we were thus detained.

At seven o'clock the next morning the wind served, and we hoisted sail. Steering cast out of the harbour, and then putting the head of our caïque toward the north, we endeavoured to double the north-eastern point of the island. Tournesfort, who is always accurate, published, a century ago, a better map of Patmos than can be found in any other work.* Such is often the inaccuracy of Dapper, notwithstanding the industry shown in his compilation relative to the islands of the Archipelago, that he describes the harbour of *La Scala* as on the western side of the island, opposite to the Isle of Naxos;† perhaps confounding it with Tournesfort's *Port de Merica*. Patmos has many ports; and from this cause it is so much infested by pirates, who resort to the port of *La Scala* to careen their vessels, and for fresh water. During the last war maintained by the Venetians against Candia, *La Scala* was the wintering-place of their fleet: there are many ruined buildings near the quay. The most contradictory accounts have been published of the island; some describing it as the most barren rock of the archipelago,‡ and others extolling its fertility.§ From all that we could collect upon the subject, it is as capable of repaying the labours of husbandry as any other of the neighbouring isles, were it not for the danger to which property is exposed, from the continual incursions of the pirates. Its harbours render it an important station as a

* Tournesfort, tom. II. p. 140. Lyons. 1717.

† "Le meilleur port de cette île et tout l'Archipel est au devant de la ville de Patino, du côté d'occident, vis-à-vis de l'île de Naxos. Il est généralement connu parmi les mariniers sous le nom de *La Scala*." (*Description des Isles de l'Archipel*, p. 179. Amst. 1703.) To such mistakes a compiler may be liable; but when he undertakes to explain the legends upon Greek medals, the reader is a little prepared for an interpretation like the following: "KOINONKYΠΡΙΩΝ, c'est à dire, *Conon des Cypriens*. Ce Conon étoit apparemment le fondateur du temple" !!! Ibid. p. 523.

‡ Tournesfort, tom. II. p. 142. Lyons, 1717.

§ Dapper, p. 179. Amst. 1703. Georgirenez, &c.

place of commerce: but the circumference of the whole island does not exceed eighteen miles, although Pliny makes it equal to thirty.* It seems to have been hardly known before the Christian æra. Strabo merely notices its situation as one of the Sporades, near to Amorgos, Lebinthus, and Leria.†

As we sailed to the northward of the island, we were surprised to see Samos so distinctly in view. It is hardly possible that the relative situation of Samos and Patmos can be accurately laid down in D'Anville's, or any more recent chart; for keeping up to windward, we found ourselves to be so close under Samos, that we had a clear view, both of the island and of the town.‡ This island, the most conspicuous object not only of the Ionian Sea, but of all the Ægean, is less visited, and of course less known, than any other: it is one of the largest and most considerable of them all, and so near to the main land that it has been affirmed persons upon the opposite coasts may hear each other speak.§ The generality of Greek authors describe its circumference as equal to eighty-seven and a half of our miles. Strabo considers it as somewhat less; but its surprising elevation and relative position, with regard to the lower islands of Fourni and Nicaria, make it a land mark all over the Archipelago.|| According to Constantine Porphyrogenetes, any very lofty place was called *Samos*.** The name of KATA-BATH was anciently given to the terrible rock which forms the cape and precipice upon its western side, as collecting the clouds, and generating thunder; *Jupiter the thunderer* being also called *Kαραβάτης Ζεύς*.† One of the monasteries is called *Παναγία Βρονδιά*, *our lady of the thunder*. There are four nunneries upon the island, and above three hundred private

* Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 12. tom. I. p. 224. L. Bat. 1635.

† Πατρίον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Πάτμος, κ. τ. λ. Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 712. Oxon. 1807.

‡ The relative position of these islands seems to be more accurately delineated in the old Map of Ancient Greece, by William Delisle, dated Paris, October, 1707.

§ Dapper, p. 190. Amst. 1703.

|| A fact has been disputed; which the author is still disposed to maintain: viz. that the *Boccage* of Samos may be seen from the summit of Hymettus in Attica.

** See also Tournefort, tom. II. lett. 3. Lyon, 1717.

†† Καραβάτης Ζεύς, κατὰ τὸ καραβιάζειν τὸ κεραυνόν. Suidas. Jul. Poll. lib. i. chap. I. Libanius. Legat. ad Julian. Pausan. Eliac. prior Pharnutius in Joris cognominibus, speak of Jupiter Καραβάτης, who darts the thunder. See also Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom. II. p. 105. Lyon, 1717; whence this note is taken.

chapels; yet the population does not exceed 12,000 men: which is explained by Tournesfort, who says, that the island is entirely in the hands of churchmen, possessing seven monasteries. The swarm of *Caloyers* and Greek *Papas* have made a desert of this fine island, where all the qualification necessary to become a priest, and live by the industry of others, is the talent of being able to repeat mass from memory. The bishop of Samos, who is also bishop of Nicaria, enjoys an annual income of two thousand crowns; and derives a considerable revenue from the *important services* he renders to the islanders, in blessing for them their water and their cattle in the beginning of May. All the produce of the dairies on that day belongs to him; he has also two beasts out of every herd.* In such a state of affairs, we cannot wonder at the change that has taken place between the ancient and the modern population of Samos; its fertility in former ages made it the subject of proverbial admiration and praise.† It is related in Athenæus, that the fruit and rose-trees of the island bore twice a year.‡ Tournesfort says, that Samos is infested with wolves; and that tigers sometimes arrive from the main land, after crossing the little *Boccaze*:§ thereby confirming an observation made by the author in the former section, with regard to the existence of tigers in Asia Minor.

Passing across the great *Boccaze*, between Samos and Icaria, we were much struck by the extraordinary intensity of the deep blue colour of the sea; and this, which is as much a distinguishing characteristic of the Archipelago as the brightness of its sky, has been noticed by no writer, excepting our enchanting bard, now so deservedly the theme of general praise.||

As evening drew on, we took the bearings of the principal headlands then in view, and found them to be accurately as follow:

* See *Tournesf. Voy. du Lev.* tom. II. p. 167. *Lyon*, 1717.

† Ότι φέρει και δρνιθων γάλα; καθαπερ που και Μένανδρος Ιφν. *Strabon. Geog.* lib. xiv. p. 914. *Ed. Oxon.*

‡ *Athen. Deipn.* lib. xiv.

§ *Voyage du Lev.* tom. II. p. 112. *Lyon*, 1717.

|| "He that has sailed upon the dark blue sea,
"Has viewed at times, I ween, a full fair sight."

Byron's "Childe Harold," p. 69. *Lond.* 1812.

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| Fourni | N. |
| Samos | N. N. E. |
| Asiatic Coast | E. N. E. |
| La Scala, Patmos Port | s. E. |
| Groupe of small Isles | s. and by w. |
| Island called Anguaro | s. w. |
| Amorgos | s. w. and by w. |
| Naxos | w. and by s. |
| Cape of Icaria | N. w. and by w. and w. N. w. |

Whenever it is practicable to make these observations at sunset in the Archipelago, surrounded as a vessel always is by land, they ought to be carefully noticed.

After sunset, we were becalmed off the point of *Icaria*, and remained, during part of the night, in a state of great apprehension, owing to the fears of our mariners with regard to the pirates. Some fires were exhibited on shore; first one and then another above it, until we saw five burning at the same time. These our captain maintained to be signals made by corsairs on the island, who were collecting to attack our vessel; consequently we extinguished every light on board, and began to row with all the energy in our power, drawing off towards Naxos. *Icaria* is at present one of the grand resorts of these predatory rovers, who are always upon the watch for ships passing the Boccaze of Samos. Small vessels, unfortunately becalmed near to their haunts, have but little chance of escaping. *Icaria* is at present hardly known; it once gave name to the Icarian sea,* and had two towns in the time of Pliny.† These must have been the small towns mentioned by Strabo,‡ of *Ænoe*, and *Drepanum*; called, in the Doric dialect, *Dracantum*. No traveller has sought for any antiquities upon *Icaria*; yet we are further informed by Strabo,§ that it had a temple of Diana, called *Tauropolium*; and Goltzius has preserved a medal of the island, with the legend ΙΚΑΡΙΩΝ, representing Europa passing the sea upon a bull, with the effigy of Diana armed with a bow, and accompanied by a hound, upon the reverse. It received the name

* Νῆσος ἡ Ἰκαρία, ἀπ' ἧς τὸ Ἰκάριον πῆλαγος. Strabon. Geog. lib. xiv. p. 915. Oxon. 1807.

“Icarus Icaris nomine fecit aquis.”

Ovid. Trist. lib. iii. El. 4. v. 22.

† “Cum oppidis duobus, tertio amisso.” Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 12. tom. L. p. 223. L. Bat. 1635.

‡ Strabon. Geog. ubi supra.

§ Ibid.

of Icaria from the story of the flight of Icarus from Crete, whose body fabled to have been cast upon this island, after falling into the *Ægean* sea, was buried by Hercules;* and this ancient name it retains to the present day.† The Italians, but more particularly the French, have introduced a number of appellations for the islands of the Archipelago, which do not exist among the Greeks; thus Icaria has been often called *Naccari*; *Cos*, *Stanchio*; and Crete almost always bears the name of *Candia*. Our Casiot marines, in their common conservation, called these islands severally, Icaria, *Cos*, and Crete; never using the words *Naccari*, *Stanchio*, and *Candia*.

After labouring for several hours, the wind began to come in squalls from the south-west, directly contrary to our course for *Naxos*; the sky at the same time lowering, with flashes of lightning, to windward; a never-failing indication of violent gales in these seas. Our captain proposed that we should run for the first port on the western side of *Patmos*; to this we gladly consented; and especially because he declared himself to be well acquainted with the entrance to a small harbour on that side of the island. As the daylight began to appear, we found ourselves close under some very high cliffs, in the face of which appeared a dark chasm, the narrow mouth of this port. Through this passage we entered; and, having brought our vessel to anchor, perceived that the harbour in which we were now stationed was opposite to that of *La Scala*, being separated from it only by a small isthmus. It proved to be a fine, clear day. The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood, at noon, at $75\frac{1}{2}$. Soon after coming to anchor, the author landed, with a view of examining the cliffs; as the ports of the island have the appearance of craters, and substances resembling lava are common among the fragments of its rocks. The monastery of *St. John* is situated upon the highest verge of a crater of this description; and the harbour of *La Scala* owes its origin to another. Perhaps there is not a spot in the Archipelago with more of the semblance of a volcanic origin than *Patmos*. The cliffs exhibit no form of regular strata, but one immense bed of a porous black rock, in which are numerous

* *Pomp. Mela*, ii. cap. 7. *Ptolem.* 5. cap. 2. *Strab.* ubi supra.

† *Tournefort* made the same observation: "Nicaria n'a pas changé de nom; elle s'appelle *Icaria*, tout comme autrefois." *Voy. du Lev.* tom. II. p. 96. *Lyon*, 1717.

nuclei of a white colour, as large as a pullet's egg, in the form of crosses. Those crosses are, of course, considered by the ignorant inhabitants as so many miraculous *apocryphical types*: and it is singular that the monks have not, as is usual in such cases, some marvellous tale to relate of their origin. The rock itself, upon a nearer examination, proved to be a very curious porphyry: the *nuclei* were all of them intersecting crystals of *feldspar*, imbedded in decomposing *trap*.* Among the geological phenomena of the Archipelago, it is perhaps impossible to point out any that are more worthy of observation than those which are exhibited in the cliffs surrounding this remarkable harbour; and there has never been exhibited specimens of *porphyry* where the crystals of *feldspar* are in any degree comparable in size with those which are now mentioned.†

This day, Tuesday, October the thirteenth, we observed in a small garden near this harbour, a *Karob*-tree (*Ceratonia Siliqua*) in bloom. A few shrubs grew among the rocks, but we could procure no specimens of plants worth collecting for our herbarium. The island abounds in goats, rabbits, and partridges. In the evening we amused ourselves in fishing, and caught some red mullets. The harbour appeared as literally swarming with the most beautiful fishes, of all colours. We perceived some that were green, others that were blue, and again others that were striped. Our sailors taught us to use small shell-fish for our baits; and as we

* We succeeded in detaching some of those twin crystals tolerably entire: their intersection had taken place obliquely in the direction of their lateral planes, the major diameter of each crystal being parallel to that of its associate. Owing to this intersection, the appearance of a cross was exhibited whenever the nuclei, by *weathering*, had been worn away transversely, so as to become level with the superficies of the rock in which they were imbedded. This relative position, and their colour, give them some resemblance to *leucite*; differing from *leucite* otherwise in the size and shape of the crystals. *Leucite* is, however, so nearly allied to *feldspar*, that were it not for the very minute portion of lime which is found in the latter, their chemical constituents would be nearly the same, and in the same proportions; and possibly the double cleavage observed by Haüy in the former, which caused him to bestow upon it the name of *amphigene*, may be owing to some circumstance of intersection which so commonly characterizes the crystals of *feldspar*. At all events, it may be proposed as a mineralogical query, "whether, if *leucite* be found before it has sustained the action of fire, it do not prove to be a variety of *Adularia*?"

† Martin Crusius, in his annotations upon an Epistle of Macarius (abbot of Patmos) to the Greek Patriarch, in 1579, has cited a work printed at Venice, which states that the island is metalliferous. "*La quale insula, è montuosa, et di vene di metalli copiosa*" Vid. Turco Græciæ, lib. iv. p. 302. Basil, sine anno.

lowered these to the bottom, the water being as clear as crystal, the fish, tempted from their haunts among the marine plants that covered the rocks, were seen distinctly whenever they took the snare. The Greeks are very expert fishermen, and our sailors caught many more than we could do; they had also a curious method of luring the fish out of the spiral shells which we found here, by a continued and gentle tapping of the shell with the point of a knife, accompanied by a tremulous whistling. We found several kind of shell-fish; and could discern some large scollops lying upon the rocks beneath the clear still water, but they were out of our reach. Very fine sponges might also be gathered from the same rocks, all around the bay. It continued calm all the next day. The author went early on shore, to see if any antiquities might be found between the two ports; and was fortunate enough to discover two Greek marbles, the first of which, a bas-relief with an inscription, he purchased and brought away. It was found by a peasant upon a small rocky isle near to the mouth of the harbour of *La Scala*. The sculpture had not much merit; but any relic is worthy of notice which exhibits an example of Grecian sculpture at Patmos, where no antiquity of this kind has hitherto been discovered. This marble is a *sepulchral tablet*, or CIPPUS, as distinguished from the STELE, and it is now deposited in the Vestibule of the University library at Cambridge.* The subject represented is the DEATH-BED of "ARISTEAS SON OF ZOSIMUS." A dog is introduced into the design, apparently watching for the moment of dissolution. This figure denoting the *Anubis* of the Egyptians, and *Hermes* of the Greeks, commonly appears upon sepulchral monuments, as a symbol of Mercury, the conductor of the souls of the dead. Beneath the bas-relief is this inscription :

APICTEAC
ΣΟΣΙΜΟΥ

The other marble was also a *cippus*, nearly of the same form, with an inscription almost as brief as the preceding :

* See "*Greek Marbles*," No. XIII. p. 11. *Camb.* 1809.

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΑ
ΧΡΗΣΤΕ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

The meaning of the word *χαίρει* upon a *cippus* will hardly admit of dispute. It is the common form of salutation, "*hail, and farewell,*" upon almost every Grecian tombstone. But those who are curious to learn its various significations, when used in conversation by the Greeks, may consult Lucian himself, who, when apprentice to his uncle the sculptor, had often employed his chisel in carving the letters of a word on stone, which he afterwards used as the subject of one of his critical dissertations.*

This being the evening of the sixth day since our first arrival in Patmos, and perhaps being as well acquainted with it as if we had spent a year in its examination, we became impatient to leave it; and began to fancy, that as our *caique* was hired by the month, its owners would create as much delay as possible, and loiter in port when they might safely venture out: Accordingly, after midnight, having roused the captain, we told him that it was a fine night, and that we wished he would put to sea. This man was one of the most experienced pilots of the Archipelago, and as worthy a Greek as ever navigated these seas; but we had not at that time learned to place the confidence in him which he highly deserved. He was very poor; and having become a widower in an early period of his life, had suffered his beard to grow, according to the manner of mourning in his native isle of *Casos*, wearing at the same time a black turban. Without making any answer to our proposal, he continued for the space of a minute looking up attentively, with his eyes fixed towards the zenith. Presently he shook his head; and pointing upwards, with his arm extended, asked us, how we liked the sky? As it seemed to be very clear, and there were many stars visible, we replied that there was every sign of fair weather. "Do you not see," said he, "some small clouds, which now and then make their appearance, and instantly afterward vanish?" We confessed that we did; but rather hastily insisted that instead of

* Vid. Luciani Opera, tom. III. p. 185. "*Pro lapsu in Sahulando.*" Edit. Reitz. Bipont. 1790.

peering after signs in the sky, he should get the vessel out of harbour as speedily as possible. His only comment upon this order, so inconsiderately given, was a summons to his companions to heave the anchor, and hoist the sails. We had barely light enough to steer through the narrow channel at the entrance, without running against the rocks; and we had no sooner cleared the port, than it fell a dead calm. A prodigious sea tossing our vessel in all directions, soon convinced us of the nature of the birth for which we had exchanged our snug station but a few minutes before. Surrounded as we had been by the lofty cliffs of the island, we had not the most distant conception of the turbulent sea we should encounter. Our steady helmsman endeavoured in vain to keep the prow of his vessel to any particular point; and calling to our interpreter, bade him notice what he termed in Greek "*the belching of the deep.*" This happens during the roll of a calm, when a wave lifted to a great height, suddenly subsides, with a deep and hollow sound, like air bursting through a narrow channel. Our apprehensions had already got the better of our indifference to such observations; and in a very different tone of voice from that in which we had ordered him out of port, we asked the captain, what that noise denoted? He calmly replied, that it was generally considered as a very bad omen; but that he more disliked the appearance which he had desired us to notice before we left the harbour. Being by this time heartily sick of our usurped authority, we begged that he would be guided in future by the dictates of his own experience, and further requested that he would put back into port. This he affirmed to be impossible; and that he would not venture toward a lee-shore during the night for any consideration. We prepared therefore to suffer, as we had deserved, for our extreme folly and rashness; and, strange as it may seem, not without many an anxious thought for the ancient manuscripts we had on board. The crew lighted a wax taper before a small picture of some saint in the fore-ship, as we occupied all the after-part of the hold with our cots and baggage. Here, when we endeavoured to lie down for rest, we were overrun by swarms of stinking cockroaches;* we remained therefore sitting upon some planks

* *BLATTA ORIENTALIS*. Linn. The modern Greeks call it *Katsarida*. According to Sonnini, they consecrate the festival of St. Gregory to these disgusting and troublesome insects. *Trav. in Greece*, p. 185. *Lond.* 1802.

that we had placed to serve as a floor, with our heads touching the roof which the deck afforded, sustaining the violent motion of the vessel, and anxiously expecting the coming of the morning.



CHAP. X.

PATMOS TO PAROS.

*Gale of wind—Vessel driven to the south of Naxos—Panor-
mo—Independent Shepherds—Appearance of the Island—
Minerals—Naxian Boccaze—Town of Naxos—Manu-
scripts—Inhabitants—Population—Antiquities—Inscrip-
tions—Sculpture—Medals—Gems—Colossal Statue—
Temple of Bacchus—Other Ruins—Smeriglio—Arrival
at Paros—Parechia—Castle—Inscriptions—Ship stranded
—Antiparos—Grotto—its possible origin—mode of de-
scent—description of the interior—Nature of the Stalac-
tites—manner of their deposition—Paradoxical Pheno-
mena—Crystallization of Alabaster—Arragonite—Visit
of the French Ambassador—Oliaros—Ancient Quarries
of Parian Marble—Marpessus—Cause of the prevalence
of Parian Marble in Grecian Sculpture—Marvellous
skill of the Ancients in working the Quarries—Bas-relief
—Explanation of the Inscription—Origin of the work—
Evidence it affords—Theory of Crystallization.*

For some time after leaving the port, we endeavoured, by hoisting canvass, to avail ourselves of the short gusts of land-wind that came from the east during the calm; a heavy and unsteady sea rolling. Afterwards, a light breeze prevailing from that quarter, we were enabled to stand over to *Icaria*; where we were entirely becalmed: and the usual alarm taking place, as to pirates upon the coast, we hauled off with our oars. Toward morning, a fresh wind sprung from the north-west, accompanied by flashes of lightning; and we directed the prow of our caique towards Naxos. As the sun rose, the sky bore a very angry aspect; the horizon being of the deepest crimson, interspersed with dark clouds. We soon perceived that the prediction made by the Casiot master of our vessel would be fulfilled, and that we should

encounter a storm. The high land of *Icaria* sheltered us until we got farther toward the south-west; when the gale freshened, and came upon us with such violence, that we could not keep our course. All our endeavours to beat to windward, so as to weather the northern point of Naxos, and bear down the strait between that island and Paros, were ineffectual: we fell fast to leeward; and getting among some rocks upon the eastern side of Naxos, the foresail was carried away. The first notice that we received of this accident, came with a wave, which broke over the caique, and almost filled our birth: it was fortunate that those upon deck were not washed overboard. We made our way up as well as we could, expecting every instant that something more serious would happen. The waves ran mountains high, and the caique would not answer to her helm. During the delay caused by getting the foresail repaired, we shipped water continually; and being obliged to take the gale *in poop*, such a sea followed us, that there was reason to fear, if the mainsail gave way, the vessel would founder. When matters were somewhat rectified, we steered for a narrow channel between some high rocks and the eastern side of the island: it seemed rather like flying than sailing: our little caique ran over the curling tops of the highest waves, without shipping any more water. This was remarked by our undaunted captain, stationed with his crew at the helm, who exclaimed, "Let us see one of your frigates in such a sea as this: there is not one of them could weather it like my little caique!" We passed like lightning within a cable's length of some dreadful rocks, over which the sea was dashing as high as our mast head; until getting under the lee, to the south of Naxos, we ran the vessel aground, close to a small creek, upon some white sand.

Within this creek another small bark had taken shelter; the crew of which, seeing our situation, came to assist our captain in getting his caique off the sand, and in hauling her farther up the creek, in which they happily succeeded. We then cast anchor, and began to examine the state of our baggage. Like true shipwrecked mariners, wet to the skin, and without a dry thread on board, we opened all our store upon the rocks, to expose our clothes to the beams of the sun. Every article of our linen was completely soaked; but, to our great joy, the manuscripts had escaped, and were safe. We had put them into a small, but stout wooden box, in the

stern of the vessel; and had covered this with every article of canvass, &c. that could be collected.

The gale continuing from the same quarter, and with the force of a hurricane, we were detained here during this and the following day. It is surprising for what a length of time, and how often, the north-west rages in the Archipelago. It prevails, almost unceasingly, through the greater part of the year. After sunset there is generally a calm, which is succeeded by light breezes from the land, especially from mountains surrounding gulfs; but at sunrise the north-west begins again.* The little creek in which our vessel found shelter is called, by the islanders, the bay of *Panormo*, and there are some insignificant ruins upon the rocks above it, which they call *Panormo Castle*.† The only inhabitants we saw were parties of men leading uninterruptedly a pastoral life, without paying any tax, either to the island or to the Turkish government: we found them tending their sheep and goats in this wild part of Naxos, like a race of primeval shepherds.‡ They brought us some sheep soon after our arrival; descending the rocks with their bare feet, and wearing upon their legs the *cothurnus*, in its most ancient form, made of the undressed skins of their goats, with the hair on the outside. Whence they came, or who they were, we could not learn; for they said they had little connexion with any of the villages of the island, nor any settled place of residence; that they had neither wives nor houses; sleeping at night behind some bush, in the open air, and labouring merely for subsistence, without a thought

* Mr. Spenser Smith, brother of sir Sidney Smith, informed the author that he was an entire month employed in endeavouring to effect a passage from Rhodes to Stanchio: the north-west wind prevailed all the time with such force, that the vessel in which he sailed could not double Cape Crio.

† Tournefort mentions this little harbour, under the name of PANORMO. (*Voy. du Levant*, tom. I. p. 248. *Lyons*, 1717.) None of the ports of NAXOS are proper for the reception of large vessels, and therefore it is that Tavernier says the island has no ports.

‡ According to Herodotus, the most ancient inhabitants of Naxos were a race of *Ionians*. Aristotle relates, that the most wealthy of them lived in the town, and that the rest were scattered about, among the villages, in different parts of the island. A very ancient inscription found near the base of *Zia*, (ΔIA), the principal mountain, which is preserved by Spon and by Tournefort, will prove that the pastures of Naxos had invited shepherds in a very early age. It consists only of three words, ΟΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΛΑΙΝΗ , "*Mountain of Jupiter, Guardian of Flocks*." The title of *Shepherd*, as applied to the Deity, is of great antiquity. It is found in Scripture. "GIVE EAR, O THOU SHEPHERD OF ISRAEL!" (*Psalms* lxxx. 1.) "THE LORD IS MY SHEPHERD—HE MAKETH ME TO LIE DOWN IN GREEN PASTURES: HE LEADETH ME BESIDE STILL WATERS." *Psalms* xxiii. 1, 2.

of riches: They had all the same kind of clothing; it consisted of a woollen jacket, and short trowsers, of their own manufacture, partly concealing the *cothurnus* of goat's hair upon their legs. They cover their heads with a red scull-cap, which is manufactured at Venice.* Reckoning their goats and sheep together, these independent shepherds have five or six hundred animals in each flock. They shear their sheep twice a year; putting the rams to the ewes in May, and removing them when the latter begin to lamb. They speak the modern Greek language; and perhaps recruit their numbers from the race of Albanians which is scattered over all Greece. They told us they made three or four hundred piastres annually, out of a flock of five hundred sheep and goats: and this sum they spend in the few necessities or indulgences they may require. We killed and dressed one of their sheep; the mutton had a very bad flavour.

The island has no port on its eastern side; it is there mountainous, but the soil is black and barren. The rocks in this part of it consist of alternate strata of schistus and limestone. We noticed a stratum of primary limestone, surmounted by schistus; and above that was a layer of a soft kind of Cipolino marble, striped blue and white. The next day, October the sixteenth, we landed to collect plants, and to examine the traces of buildings above this little bay, which may be called *Panormo Creek*, for it merits no higher consideration. We found the remains of walls, built above precipices, in which cement had been used; and noticed a door, with a small room that had once been stuccoed. In a rude chapel, which the shepherds had constructed of loose stones, we observed the fragment of an antic marble; but, upon the whole, these works had much more the appearance of buildings hastily constructed by pirates, than by any people acquainted with architectural science. We noticed some caves near the shore: and it is probable that this obscure and almost unknown retreat has offered an occasional asylum to some of the numerous corsairs of the Archipe-

* This part of the modern Greek and Albanian dress is the most ancient: it may be observed upon a *Bas-relief* of the highest antiquity, near to Orchomenos in Bœotia; it is still worn throughout Albania, and among all the Grecian Isles, as it was by their ancestors, and by the Byzantine emperors. It is common also to the Turks, from the grand signior to the meanest slave, who wear it beneath the turban.

Iago. After this, our botanical excursions led us a short distance into the interior, over a barren district, "*fitter*," as Tournefort said of the whole island,* "*to inspire sadness than joy*." We saw neither fixed inhabitants, nor any mark of cultivation.† The high rocks above the creek were covered with the blossoms of a species of *Cyclamen*, probably the *autumnale* of Ray;‡ we collected a great number of these, and several bulbous-rooted plants, particularly one with a small and very elegant white flower, which we thought was new, but the specimens were afterwards injured or lost. We could not find Tournefort's *Heliotropium humifusum*;§ we had seen it often in the Holy Land, and wished to observe the change that might be effected by such a difference of situation. The mineralogy of this island promises to be highly interesting, when an opportunity is offered to any naturalist for its investigation; but where there are no mines, the mere traveller, examining only those excavations which nature carries on, has little chance of adding greatly to his stock of knowledge. The geologist, attending only to *aggregation*, may fare better in the midst of the compound masses which are everywhere presented to his view. A species of *breccia* was found here, called *Ophites* by the ancient Greeks, which may have been the *Verde antico*; it is described as of a green colour, spotted with white. From the position of the strata, as before noticed, this compound may frequently occur, where the layers of schistus and marble meet, and where the *schistus* is either of a green colour, itself, or contains *green serpentine*. It has been also pretended that gold ores exist in the island, but that the inhabitants carefully conceal the secret of their locality, through fear of being compelled by the Turks to work those ores. The famous *emery* of Naxos is situated in an opposite part of the island, towards the north-west; the author has ever since regretted that his rough treatment at sea entirely

* Elle nous parut d'abord plus propre à inspirer de la tristesse que de la joie." *Voyage du Levant*, tom. I. p. 254. Lyons, 1717.

† Count de Choiseul Gouffier gave a very different description of the north part of the island. "Si l'on avance dans les terres, on trouve des vallées délicieuses, arrosées de mille ruisseaux, et des forêts d'orangers, de figuiers, et de grenadiers. La terre par sa fécondité semble prévenir tous les besoins de ses habitans; elle nourrit une grande quantité de bestiaux, de gibier. Le blé, l'huile, les figues, et le vin, y sont toujours abondans. On y recueille aussi de la soie." *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, p. 41. Paris, 1782.

‡ Raii Hist. 1206.

§ Tournef. *ibid.* p. 265.

banished from his recollection all thoughts of this important part of the natural history of Naxos; and he has the more regretted his inattention to it, as we are entirely ignorant of the geological position, association, and matrix of *emery*. Since the celebrated Tennant has discovered its relationship to *Corundum*,* independently of its consequence in a commercial view, and of its connexion with ancient history, it is peculiarly entitled to notice. The matrix of the *Corundum* of the *Carnatic* is a stone of a peculiar nature, resembling the Naxian marble.† The crystals of *Corundum* are dispersed in it in the same manner as those of feldspar are disposed in porphyry.‡ The author has succeeded in obtaining, by the accidental fracture of the *compact emery* of Naxos, as regular an hexagonal form as that which may be noticed in the *Corundum* of the Mysore; nor is it unreasonable to infer, as a probability, that *Telesia*, or perfect *Corundum*, under the forms exhibited by the *Oriental sapphire* and *Oriental ruby*, may be found by future travellers in the mines of *emery* at Naxos. Tournefort relates, that in his time those mines were situated at the bottom of a valley, beyond a place called *Perato*, in the territory of the French consul; but that the inhabitants find *emery* as they plough the earth, and carry it down to the sea coast, where the English did often ballast their ships with it; and it was so cheap, that twenty-eight hundred weight of it might be purchased for a crown.§ Dapper says, that a cape on the north-west side of the island takes its name from this stone.|| Almost all the *emery* of commerce comes from Naxos. The island has been celebrated for ages in being the peculiar deposite of this remarkable mineral. Pliny, in the description he has given of a *green stone* which the ancients call *topaz*, says it was the only gem that admitted the impression of a file; that all other gems were polished by means of the *grinding-stones of Naxos*:** and, in a preceding part of his work, he

* See the communication read to the Royal Society, July 1802, on the composition of *emery*, by Smithson Tennant, F. R. S.

† "It is similar," says the Count de Bournon, "to the kind of marble known by the name of Coarse-grained Saline Marble." (See Bournon on the *Corundum Stone*, p. 50. Lond. 1802.) This description answers to the marble of Naxos.

‡ See Bournon, &c. as above.

§ Tournef. Voy. du Levant, tom. I. p. 263. Lyon. 1717.

|| *Capo Smeriglio*; the Italians calling *emery*, *Smeriglio*, or *smerillo*. See Dapper, *Iles de l'Archipel*, p. 350. Amst. 1763.

** "Eadem sola nobilium limam sentit; cæteræ Naxiis cotibus poliantur." Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvii. c. 8. tom. III. p. 542. L. Bat. 1635.

speaks of *Naxium* as used in polishing marble and gems.* The shepherds told us that wild honey is found in great abundance in this island; the children set out in parties to collect it, as in the other islands of the Archipelago. From the rocks above *Panormo* creek, we had a fine view of the great cluster of islands lying towards the south-east.

On Saturday, October the seventeenth, at sunrise, we got under weigh, with a light breeze from the north-west, and steered for the south of the *boccaze*, or strait, between this island and Paros. In passing up the channel, we were obliged to use our oars; but by ten o'clock, A. M. we came to anchor in the port, close to the town of Naxos, having nearly completed the tour of the whole island. We found only a few boats in the harbour. The Greek sailors still preserve the custom, mentioned by Homer, of hauling their vessels on the shore, with the prows resting upon the beach; having done this, they place the mast lengthwise across the prow and the poop, and spread the sail over it, so as to form a tent; then beneath these tents they sing their songs, drinking wine freely, and accompanying their voices with the lyre, or three-stringed viol: such a concert greeted our arrival. Being told that a latin archbishop resided in the place, we paid him a visit. The town makes a neat appearance from the harbour, but has altogether the character of an ancient Greek city when it is entered; the streets being irregular, deep, narrow, and dirty. We found upon the mart, near the shore, large heaps of the most enormous green citrons we had ever seen, ready to be removed on board some boats waiting to convey this kind of freightage to Constantinople. They are valued principally for their very thick rind, of which a green sweetmeat is prepared; but we could hardly have credited an account of the size to which this fruit here attains. Some of these citrons were as large as a man's head, and of the most singular forms; consisting almost wholly of the rind, with very little juice in any of them. The archbishop received us very politely, and prepared a dinner for us: but we begged to make the best use of our time, and therefore declined his invitation. By his kindness we were admitted to the churches, which have the privilege of being furnished with bells, as at Patmos. A Greek

* "Signis è marmore poliendis, gemmisque etiam scalpendis atque limandis *Naxium* diu placuit ante alia." Ibid. lib. xxxvi. c. 7. tom. III. p. 478.

priest, in answer to our inquiry for manuscripts, produced from beneath an altar, lying upon the damp pavement of one of the sanctuaries, a quarto Codex of selections from the Gospels, written upon vellum for the use of the Greek church: this, as usual, had been condemned as soon as a printed copy had supplied its place. We easily contrived to purchase it; and afterwards obtained, for a small sum, by means of the same priest, a similar manuscript, apparently of the same age, from one of the Greek families in the place.* In this manner ancient copies of the Gospels may be procured in the Archipelago, by persons who will be at the pains to seek for them; as, in our own country, the rarest English editions of the Scriptures may be found in counties at a distance from the metropolis, where they have either been banished from the churches to make way for more modern bibles, or laid up in store-rooms as waste-paper in private families, being too antiquated and inelegant in their appearance for the taste of the owners.†

The want of a proper port for large shipping has saved Naxos from many a visit on the part of the Turks. We were told that not a single mahometan could be found in the whole island, and that many of the inhabitants of the interior had never seen a Turk; but they sometimes experience the honour of a call from their masters, *en passant*; and then, "upon the arrival of the meanest commander of a galliot," says Tournesfort,‡ "neither Latins nor Greeks ever dare appear but in red caps, like the common galley-slaves, humbling themselves before the pettiest officers." As soon as the Turks have left them, nothing is to be heard but tables of their genealogy; some deducing their origin from the *Paleologi*, or from the *Comnenii*; others from the noblest Venetian families.§ The island was for three hundred years the residence of princes appointed by the Venetians as dukes of the Archipelago; from the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the emperor Henry gave this title to *Marco Sanudo*, until the expulsion by the Turks, under Se-

* These are the same manuscripts mentioned by professor Gaisford, Nos. 47, 48, p. 100, of his catalogue. *Oxon.* 1812.

† The author has seen old black-letter bibles discarded in the chests of country churches; and once found a copy of *Miles Coverdale's* revised translation of the Scriptures in the hands of a Welch housekeeper, who was preparing to use it in covering preserves.

‡ Tournesf. *Voy. du Levant*, lett. V. tom. I. p. 257. *Lyons*, 1717.

§ Tournesf. *ibid.*

I am the Second, of *Giacomo Crispo*, the twenty-first and last duke. It is owing to this circumstance that the Venetian costume still exists among the Latin ladies. That of the Greek women is very remarkable; but it has been already described and accurately represented in Tournefort's travels.* We were unable to resist the hospitable importunity with which some of the inhabitants invited us into their dwellings; and might have sacrificed the whole of our time in going from house to house, to be regaled with lemonade and sweetmeats. Some of the ladies were very anxious to be informed how the women of our island passed their time; and whether the rich dresses of the Naxian women accorded with the habits of English females of distinction. We told them that English ladies of elevated rank aimed only at simplicity in their dress; that, in our commercial country, wealth was very often on the side of low birth; and, consequently, that expensive habits and costly ornaments, so far from being the distinguishing characteristics of high breeding, were generally considered as marks of vulgarity; that the wives and daughters of our nobility wore the plainest, and generally the cheapest apparel. Still their curiosity was not satisfied: they wished we would tell them of what materials the dresses consisted; and whether any thing of the kind could be had at Malta, or Constantinople: and in the evident desire which they betrayed of imitating the London mode, we were amused in thinking what sort of a metamorphosis would be effected by the arrival of an English woman of rank at Naxos: what discarding of brocade, and coloured velvet, and embroidered vests, for British muslin and stuffs: what scrambling for a few pieces of crape and cambric, if such merchandise should arrive in the midst of the revolution; how all the old family wardrobes, which had been handed down in form and substance from the *Justinians*, the *Grimaldis*, and the *Summaripas*,† would give place to the simplest English costume. As we had a variety of other business to claim our attention, during the short stay we intended to make, we put an end to a chain of inquiries that redoubled after every answer, by promising to send all the latest modes by the earliest opportunity, either from Paris or London.

The population has not been altered since Naxos was visited by Tournefort: that of the whole island, including the

* Tournef. Voy. du Levant, lett. V. tom. I. p. 222. Lyons, 1717.

† See Tournefort, p. 257. tom. I. Lyon, 1717.

women, may be estimated at eighteen thousand persons ; about three thousand of this number are Latins, and the rest are Greeks. During war, they pay forty purses as a tax to the Turkish government, each purse being equivalent to five hundred piastres. In time of peace very little impost is levied. Their wine maintains its pristine celebrity, and we thought it excellent. The Latin families live together in the castle, or fortress, separated from the Greeks, not only by situation, but by numberless petty feuds and jealousies. We found fragments of red porphyry here, much resembling lava. In the evening it rained, which was quite a novel spectacle to us at that time. The archbishop had again prepared his table for us ; and, as we had refused his dinner, we went to sup with him. He had also provided beds and every other necessary convenience for our accommodation ; but as the impossibility of making any adequate return for such civilities is often a painful reflection upon these occasions, we determined to rough it out, as usual, in our caïque. The Greek houses of every description, it is true, swarm with vermin ; but we could not pique ourselves upon the superiority of our accommodation on board, even in this respect, from the swarms of cockroaches by which we were infested ; and some rats, the *athletæ* of their kind, during the last night that we remained in Panormo Bay, actually carried off, not only the author's book of plants, filled with specimens, but also a weighty Turkish poniard, tied up within it, used for the double purpose of digging roots, and as a weapon of defence.

Early the next day we landed to seek for some remains of the ancient city, which was nearly in the situation of the modern town. The antiquities of Naxos relate almost exclusively to the worship of Bacchus. The inhabitants are still much addicted to drinking, and every medal and gem of the island prove how prevalent the rites of Bacchus once were. This god is represented bearded upon all the Naxian coins and signets. We obtained several, which we shall presently describe. Below the window of a house belonging to the chancellor of Naxos, we found an inscription, upon the capital of a column, of an order in architecture unknown to us. It was discovered by a monk, who was digging for building materials among the remains of the ancient city ; he found the shaft of the column near to it, and a small antique lamp of terra-cotta. The pillar itself

was, in all probability, a sepulchral *stélé*. The inscription is hardly worth preserving, and it contains only a few names; but one is unwilling to neglect the preservation of any Grecian relic, and especially where few are found.

ΧΑΙΗΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ
ΗΡΟΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΕ
ΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΠΟΛΧΡ
ΟΥ

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥ
ΚΑΙ
ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ

ΠΡΟΚΛΟΣ ΠΡΟ
ΚΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕ
ΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΣΩΣΙΜΟΥ
ΣΥ

We were afterwards shown, upon the top of a house below the walls of the fortress, a small slab, rather of Parian than of Naxian marble (the grain being finer than in the latter) containing an inscription of great antiquity: the letters were small; and they were exceedingly well cut, like some of the inscriptions which have been found in Troas, of the age of the Seleucidæ. The names of *Aristotle*, *Socrates*, *Theocritus*, and *Alexander*, inscribed upon the same marble, somewhat excited our curiosity; but, after all, we did not find a single fact stated in this inscription: it consists only of a list of names; and many of these are lost, owing to the injury the stone has sustained.

ΕΠΙ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΠΟ
 ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟΓΥΜ. . ΟΥΣ ΕΚΑ . . . ΟΣ
 ΥΓΙΕΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΟ ΤΟΥ ΗΦΗΒ . . .
 ΣΙΝΟΙΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ . . . ΦΑΝΟΣΣΩΣ
 ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ. ΝΙΚΑΙΟΣ Μ. . . ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΓΕΙ . .
 ΖΩΣΙΜΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΟ . . . ΑΡΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ . . . ΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΟΙ . .
 ΠΟΠΛΙΟΣ ΑΡΦΑΛΛΙΟΣ ΕΚΡ. . ΞΙ . . . ΝΑΧΕΗΣ ΝΕΟΤΕΡΟ
 ΕΥΤΥΧΟΣΡ. . . ΝΑΙΟΥ ΠΥ . . . Π ΜΑΚΥΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΝ
 ΘΕΟΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ ΝΕΜΕΚ. . . ΙΤΟΕ ΗΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΤΟ
 ΟΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΚΛΕΙ ΜΩΝΝΙΚΗ ΡΑΤΟΣ
 ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΜΩΝΝΙΚΑΙΟΥ
 ΚΛΕΩΝΥ ΠΟΥ ΗΜΕΡΟΣ
 ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΙ. ΗΡΑΣ ΣΙΝΟΙ. . ΑΥΛΟΣ
 ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΙΟΣ ΑΓΑ ΟΔΟΣ . . ΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΣ ΩΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ
 ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ
 ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΔΕΚΜΟΣ
 ΑΥΦΙΔΙΟΣ ΣΠΟΡΙΟΥΣ ΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ
 ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ ΑΥΛΟΣ ΣΟΛΦΙΚΙΟΣ
 ΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ
 ΣΕΞΤΙΛΙΟΣ ΣΠΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΧΑΡΜΙ
 ΔΟΥ . . Υ . . ΗΡΕΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ

We copied this inscription with difficulty, being continually interrupted by the exorbitant demands of the woman to whom the house belonged. She positively refused to sell the marble, having a superstitious notion that it prevented evil spirits from coming to her dwelling: after insisting upon a payment of thirty piastres for a sight of it, she allowed us to copy it for a hundred parâhs, but not without continual interruption, and the most clamorous entreaty for more money.

We had sufficient employment afterwards, among many valuable antiquities. Every fragment of the ancient sculpture of Naxos denoted the most splendid æra of the art; but Bacchus was all in all. The fragment of a marble bust of the God, crowned with vine leaves, was shown to us, of the most perfect sculpture; but the price set upon every thing proved our approximation to western countries, and that the intercourse between this island and Italy had taught them how to appreciate the works of Grecian artists. An ancient weight had been dug up, of an oblong square form, with its

handle, neatly cut in marble; this we brought away: it weighs exactly four pounds, seven ounces and a half. A Greek had recently discovered a vessel of terra cotta, containing some small bronze coins of Naxos, of the finest die, exhibiting the head of the bearded Bacchus in front, and a *diota* on the reverse, with the legend ΝΑΞΙΩΝ : we bought ten of these. The author had also the good fortune to procure a silver medal of the island, of such uncommon rarity, that it is believed there is not a duplicate of it in any collection in Europe. It has on the front a bearded head of Bacchus; and for reverse the *diota*, with the letters ΝΑ . It is wonderful, considering the wealth and population which the testimony of Herodotus proves the Island of Naxos to have possessed, that its coins should be so scarce, and generally so paltry; while those of its Sicilian colony, so much less noticed in history, are by no means uncommon; and for size and workmanship the latter are among the finest examples of art extant.

Visiting, as usual, the working silversmiths, we found among them several gems. The first was a cornelian with the figure of a goat, a symbol of Bacchus: the second, which we could not obtain, represented a whole length figure of the god, reeling, decorated with vine-leaves and grapes, and followed by a dog; he held a *thyrsus* in one hand, and a *diota* in the other turned bottom upward, as a proof that he had emptied the contents of the vase. Upon another gem, which we were also unable to purchase, we observed an altar, supporting a bust of Bacchus crowned with vine-leaves, in a very singular attitude, with its mouth open, as if making a libation of the effects of intoxication: around it appeared the letters of his name, ΥΟΟΥΝΟΙΔ , written, in very ancient characters, from right to left. At the house of the chancellor, from whom we experienced the most hospitable attention, we saw the hand of an ancient statue, executed in the best style of Grecian sculpture, and certainly not inferior to any thing yet discovered. Also, near to his house, the torso and bust of a military figure, with a robe over the shoulder, of the most exquisite workmanship. The sculpture of the island appeared to be generally of the sort of marble called Parian, whether found in Paros or in Naxos; and the remains of works in *architecture* to have been executed in the splendid, broader grained, and sparry marble, which is more peculiar to the Naxian quarries; but neither the one

nor the other exhibited the smallest appearance of that false lustre, and glittering surface, which has sometimes, and very improperly, been supposed to characterize works of art executed in the marble of these islands.* Age had given to all a warm and beautiful tint of a yellow colour: and, to the eye, every fragment seemed to possess the softness and consistency of wax or of alabaster. The chancellor told us, that in the interior of the island, at the distance of three hours from the town, near to some ancient marble quarries, there yet remains an unfinished colossal statue, as he said, of Apollo, but evidently of Bacchus, with a *bearded* countenance, sixteen feet in length.† A public fountain near to the town is still considered by the inhabitants as THE FOUNTAIN OF ARIADNE, and it is called by that name. Some traces of ancient works which may yet be discerned near to this fountain show that it has long been held in more than usual consideration.

Being unable to undertake a journey into the interior, we next visited the ruins of a temple of Bacchus, upon an insular rock on the north side of the port. The portal of that temple has been long famous, and an account of it is given in every book of travels where Naxos is mentioned. We shall therefore not detain the reader with any dissertation as to the probable history of the temple, but simply describe what we saw. It is asserted, that the isle was once connected with Naxos by means of a bridge and an aqueduct: the author of the "*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*" says that its vestiges are yet visible:‡ we did not observe them when we were upon the spot. It is an error to suppose, as many have affirmed, that nothing remains of the temple but this portal, although it be true that little else can be seen. Considering the pains that have been lately bestowed by many of our English travellers in making excavations in different parts of Greece, it is rather extraordinary that no person has been induced to lay open the site of this remarkable building, where there are no Turks to interfere with the work-

* "Le marbre Grec est à gros grains cristallins, qui font de faux jours, et qui sautent par petit éclats, si on ne le ménage avec soin." *Tournef. Voy. du Lev. lett. V. tom. I. p. 241. Lyons, 1717.*

† Mr. Hamilton, author of *Egytiaca*, with his companions, afterward visited Naxos, and saw this statue of Bacchus. It is of such enormous size, that Mr. Hamilton's party spread a cloth upon the beard, and made it serve as their table for breakfast.

‡ *Voy. Pittor. tom. I. p. 43. Paris, 1782.*

men, and where there is almost a certainty of reward for their trouble. For our part, we had not the means of carrying on such works; but we uncovered a part of the soil, and discovered a beautiful capital of a Doric pillar, thereby ascertaining the order of architecture observed in the building. We were struck with admiration at the massive structure and the simple grandeur of that part of the temple which still remains standing: it consists of three pieces only of the *Naxian* marble, two being placed upright and one laid across. Below these are large square masses, which belonged to the threshold; and this consisted of three pieces only.* The view through this portal, of the town of *Naxos* with its port, and part of the island, is very fine; and we endeavoured, by a sketch made upon the spot, to preserve a memorial of the scene. We brought away some large specimens of the marble which lies in fragments near the portal: it is so much softer and more laminary than the *Parian*, that the difference between the two kinds is easily to be recognised by fracture. It is singular that no account of a building of such magnificence should be preserved in any author. *Ptolemy*, as it is observed by *Tournefort*, seems to mention an ancient city upon which it is probable that the modern town of *Naxos* is built:† but no allusion to this small isle and its temple occurs in any ancient description of Greece, notwithstanding all that has been said of *Naxos*, by *Herodotus*, by *Appian*, and by other writers. From this isle we returned to conclude our researches in *Naxos*.

The citadel was constructed under *Marco Sanudo*, the first duke of the *Archipelago*; and the ancient palace of his successors was the large square tower which is now remaining within this circular fortress.‡ Near to a small chapel beneath its walls, we found a *Cippus*, representing two female figures, in bas-relief. There is not a house in the town that has not some relic of this kind near to it; and similar remains in the interior are very common. The inhabitants told us, that there are two places where ruins and inscriptions are

* *Tournefort* ascertained the dimensions of the portal: according to him (see tom. I. lett. V. à *Lyons*, 1717.) it is eighteen feet high, and eleven feet three inches broad; the lintel is four feet thick; the two uprights are four feet thick, and three feet and a half broad. All the parts, he says, were cramped with copper, for he found small pieces of that metal among the ruins.

† *Νάξου Νήσου ἡ πόλις. Ptol. Geog. lib. iii. cap. 15.*

‡ *Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom. I. lett. V. Lyons, 1717.*

found; the one called *Apollonon*, and the other a village which bears the name of *Philotes*. They spoke of ruins at two hours' distance from Naxos, toward the east, and offered to conduct us to them: but the journey would have detained us another day; and we were afraid of loitering at this season of the year with such a vessel as ours upon a doubtful speculation, and therefore refused to go. Nothing happened to us more extraordinary than our almost unaccountable neglect in not visiting the *Emery* mines: this arose partly, as has been stated, from the alarm into which we had been thrown upon our first coming to the island, which made us forget to inquire after them; and also in some degree from not rightly comprehending the meaning of the term *Smeriglio*, when the exports were stated to us: we would willingly have bartered the time which we spent in copying, and in procuring permission to copy, an imperfect and unintelligible inscription, for the opportunity of making a few observations upon the *Naxian Corundum*, of which they have two varieties, very different in their qualities. They find also abundance of *Marcasite*, or *sulphuret of iron*: this was mentioned to us by the chancellor, but we were not told what use they made of it. Formerly it was employed in the manufacture of earrings and bracelets in England; and buttons are yet made of it in Birmingham, which have for a short time almost the lustre of real brilliants.

At eight o'clock A. M. October the 19th, we found our vessel entering the harbour of *Naussa*,* at the northern

* This must be the *Porto Avisa* of Dapper. (*Déscrip. des Isles de l'Archipel*, p. 261. *Amst.* 1703.) Tournefort mentions *Nausa*, or *Agousa* (tom. 6. lett. V. p. 241. *Lyons*, 1717:) and an author who accompanied Mons. de Nointel, during his Voyage in the Archipelago in 1673, writes it *Agosa* (*L'Etat présent l'Archipel de Monsieur M. D. L. Cologne*, 1678. p. 57.) "Πάρος ἔχει πόλιν δύο, καὶ χώρα μία. 1. Παρίκια, ἐπισκοπᾶτο. 2. Κίφαλος, κάστρο. 3. Ἀγόσα. Ins. Paros habet castra duo, et unam civitatem. 1. Parikiam, episcopatum. 2. Kephalon, castrum. 3. Augustam." (*Vid. Martini Crusii Annotationes in Epistolas Doctorum*, p. 207. *Turcogræciæ. Basil. sine anno.*) Sonnini calls it *Naussa*. (*Trav. in Greece*, p. 454. *Lond.* 1801.) These particulars are noted, because Paros may hereafter excite the notice of our government. It was in this port that the Russians established the depot of their forces, when they promised to restore liberty to Greece, and became the scourge of the inhabitants; desolating the finest works of antiquity wherever they went. There is no harbour in Greece better calculated for a national establishment. Fleets may lie there in perfect safety, and in the very centre of the Archipelago. The Turks make no use of Paros themselves: and, viewed only with regard to the abundance of its valuable marble, it ought to be considered as an island of importance to a nation vain of its distinction in the Fine Arts. A very fine chart of this harbour has been engraved in the "*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*," with all the sound-

extremity of the isle of Paros; having availed ourselves of the land breeze in the night to leave Naxos. This is the principal port for large vessels; but as our object was to get to *Parechia*, the chief town, we ordered our men to bear down the western side of the island. This island is surrounded by harbours, and that of *Naussa* alone is said to be capable of containing a hundred vessels.

A contrary wind soon after met us; in consequence of which we landed, and walked about three miles; meeting in the first Greek we saw a proof of that hospitality which is so common in the Archipelago. He was the owner of a house in Paros, to which he invited us; saying that his son should be our guide to the marble quarries, and that he would show us all the antiquities in the neighbourhood. We accompanied him; and made a hearty meal upon salted olives, grapes, boiled pumpkins, and Parian wine. Our boat did not arrive until ten at night. *Parechia* is a wretched relic of the ancient and famous PAROS. Every building in the place, but particularly the castle, bears some evidence of its pristine splendour, and of the havock that has ensued.

October the twentieth, the *Wainode* of Paros, who is a native of *Tenos*, sent as governor to collect the taxes, but not constantly resident, came to visit us, and offered to show to us the castle. In the walls of this building we saw some columns which had been placed horizontally among the materials used in building it; and their butends sticking out, were singularly inscribed with the letter **A**, placed close to the cavity intended for the reception of the iron instrument called by modern architects the *Louis*;* either as a mark by which to adjust the several parts of the shaft, or as a curious method of preserving the initial of the architect's name; so that it could not be seen until the building became a ruin. An instance of a similar nature occurred at Telmessus, where the name of *Hermolycus* had been carefully inscribed, but

ings, &c. as it was surveyed by *Kauffer* in 1776; showing the situation of the Russian magazines and fortifications. See pl. xxxi. p. 70. tom. I. *Paris*, 1782.

* The name of this dove-tailed instrument is in general use among architects; but it is not found in any English dictionary. Its origin is very uncertain; the French call the same instrument *Louve*. Piranesi, in his third volume of the "*Magnificenza di Romà*," mentions having found stones in ancient buildings in which there were cavities for an instrument of this dove-tailed shape.

in such a manner as to be concealed from observation when the building was entire: this *letter* may therefore possibly relate to *Amphilochus*, "the glory of whose art," in an inscription found at Rhodes,* was said "to reach to the mouths of the Nile, and to the utmost Indus." The entrance to the interior is of very singular form, being as wide as one entire side of the castle. It is truly lamentable to view the wreck of beautiful sculpture, visible not only in the construction of this fortress, but all over the town of *Parechia*, the wretched remnant of a city famous for the birth of Phidias and of Praxiteles. We copied part of an inscription yet existing in the castle wall:

ΑΗΡΩΣΑΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΑΡΧΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΙΕΝ

Also nearly to a windmill we found inscribed, "NICIRATUS SON OF ALCÆUS:"

ΝΙΚΗΡΑΤΟΣ
ΑΛΚΑΙΟΥ

It may be said, perhaps, that these inscriptions are hardly worth preserving; but instances have occurred in which even such scraps have not been without utility, in adding to the general stock of literature. We afterward found an inscription of greater length: it was in the left-hand doorway of the chapel of St. Nicholas, in the church of St. Helen, the stone being placed in an inverted position. It states that "THE SON OF THEOCLES, WHO HAD CONDUCTED HIMSELF WELL IN THE OFFICE OF AGORANOMOS, TWICE, IS CROWNED WITH A GOLDEN CROWN." The legend requires a little restoration, which is here marked by dotted letters.

* See the former section, chap. VIII. p. 138.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΕΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΙΜΗΣΕΝ
 ΚΑΙΕΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΕΝΧΡΥΣΩΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ
 ΝΩΝΓΩΡΥΤΟΝΘΕΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΑΓΩ
 ΡΑΝΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑΔΙΣΚΑΛΩΣΚΑΙ
 ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣΕΑΤΕΤΟΥΣΝΟΜΟΥΣΚΑΙ
 ΚΑΤΑΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΠΑΣΙΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝ

In a wall of the court we observed a *Lectisternium*, in bas-relief; but it had been whitewashed, and this made it difficult to copy an inscription upon the marble. In one part of the stone there appeared, in small characters,

----- ΤΟΕΤΟΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
 ----- ΙΡΟΜΟΙΡΩΣΕΞΙΩΣΑΣ

Below this were some figures in a reclining posture; and then followed, in larger letters,

ΣΩΧΑΡΜΟΥΠΑΡΑΙ
 ΕΠΙΚΑΙΕΣΦΘΙΜΕΝΟ
 ΕΙΓΑΡΚΑΙΠΑΥΡΑΣΕΠ
 ΑΞΙΟΣΑΙΝΕΙΣΘΑΙ
 ΟΡΦΑΝΑΜΕΝΜΟΡΑΙΤ
 ΚΕΙΣΘΩΠΑΙΣΙΧΡΟΝ

The four last lines in this inscription were evidently in metre, as we may judge from the beginning of each:

Εἰ γὰρ καὶ παυρᾶς
 Ἄξιός σινεῖσθαι
 Ὀρφανὰ μιν
 Κεῖσθω παῖσι χρόν . .

Similar imperfect remains may be observed in all parts of the town, which have been used for building materials, and generally white-washed. Near the house of the imperial consul, facing the street, we saw this inscription in the wall:
 "DIONYSIUS, SON OF EUSCHEMON, FAREWELL:"

ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟC
ΕΥCΕΧΜΟΝΟC
ΧΡΗCΤΕΧΑΙΡΕ

Two forms of the *Sigma* are observable in this inscription. That the **C** and **Σ** were used promiscuously in very ancient times, has been frequently shown. The **C** was of the highest antiquity, and certainly in use prior to the era of the first Punic war.* The **Σ** appears on coins and marbles of very ancient date.† Somewhat farther on, in another street, we found an inscription relating to “A DAUGHTER OF AGATHEMERIS:”

ΖΩCΑΡΙΝ . . ΟΠΑ --- Α ---
ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΑΕ
ΑΓΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΔΟC

It is impossible to assign any date to these inscriptions; in which not less than three different forms of a single letter may be observed; but this want of uniformity is no proof of the age of writing.

This day, as the governor offered to accompany us to see the famous grotto of Antiparos, and as our host had prepared mules and guides for the expedition, we set off at eight A. M. and rode by the side of a mountain, through corn fields, until we came to the narrowest part of the channel, between Paros and Antiparos. Paros seemed to be in a higher state of cultivation than Naxos. The island produces excellent oil, and abundance of wine. Its ripe olives are highly esteemed by the natives as an article of food, after being salted for one day: this sort of diet has been often deemed, by inconsiderate English travellers in Italy and Greece, very hard fare for the poor inhabitants; but it is one of their greatest luxuries: and we became as fond of it as the people everywhere seem to be from one extremity of the Mediterranean to the other. As soon as we reached the

* Torremuza Inscript. di Palermo, p. 237.

† See *Paciandi's Observations on Medals*, bearing the legend **CAEIQN** and **ΟΡΘΩCΙΕΩΝ**. Mon. Pell. 34.

shore from which we were to pass over to Antiparos, we observed a large Turkish merchant ship, laden with soap, and bound from Crete to Constantinople, stranded in the middle of the strait. The master of the vessel, without any compass, and with the usual fatality attending his countrymen in their sea voyages, had relied upon an ignorant pilot, who had persuaded him that this was the greater *boccaze* between Naxos and Paros, and the ship, in consequence, was driven upon the shallows. We went on board, and found the master squatted within his cabin, smoking, and listening to a duet performed by two of his crew upon a drum and a lyre, while the rest were gone in search of people to assist in hauling the vessel off the rocks. Nothing could exceed his perfect *moslem* indifference; for, although, it seemed to be doubtful whether his vessel would ever move again, or, if she did, whether she would not go to the bottom in consequence of the damage she had sustained, he would not stir from the seat where he had remained from the moment the accident happened.

We landed upon the barren island of Antiparos, and were conducted by the governor to a small village: here we found a few inhabitants, who were described to us as the casual legacies of different vessels, and principally Maltese, taken by corsairs, and left on shore to shift for themselves. Some of them provided us with mules, ropes, and candles for the grotto, which is situated near the summit of the highest mountain of Antiparos, in the south part of the island. As we rode along, our beasts were terrified by the attacks of the gad-fly, an insect which infests every one of the Cyclades. Having reached the top of the mountain before mentioned, we came to the mouth of this most prodigious cavern, which may be described as the greatest natural curiosity of its kind in the known world. The entrance to it has nothing very remarkable: it is beautifully represented in the *Voyage Pittoresque* of De Choiseul Gouffier;* but no book of travels ever did or ever can pourtray the beauties of the interior. As to its origin, it may possibly have been a very ancient mine, or a marble quarry, from the oblique direction of the cavity, and the parallel inclination of its sides. The rock immediately above it consists of the following substances. The upper surface or summit of the mountain is a stratum of limestone,

* See plate xxxvi. 72. p. tom. I. *Par.* 1782.

inclined very considerably from the horizon: beneath this is a layer of schistus, containing the sort of marble called *Cipolino*, that is to say, a mixture of schistus and marble; then occurs the cavity which forms the grotto, parallel to the dipping inclination of the superior strata, and this cavity was once, probably, occupied by a bed of marble, succeeding in regular order to the superincumbent schistus; but this is mere hypothesis; and any traveller who enters the grotto will soon perceive, that all the theories he may form have been set at nought by nature, in the darksome wonders of her subterraneous laboratory. We may therefore come at once to the practical part of the inquiry. The mode of descent is by ropes, which on the different declivities are either held by the natives, or they are joined to a cable which is fastened at the entrance around a stalactite pillar. In this manner, we were conducted, first down one declivity, and then down another, until we entered the spacious chambers of this truly enchanted grotto. Having visited the stalactite caverns of the Gulf of *Salernum* upon the coast of Italy, those of *Terni*, and many other places, the author expected to find something similar here; but there is nothing which resembles this grotto. The roof, the floor, the sides of a whole series of magnificent caverns, were entirely invested with a dazzling incrustation as white as snow. Columns, some of which were five-and-twenty feet in length, pended in fine icicle forms above our heads: fortunately some of them are so far above the reach of the numerous travellers who, during many ages, have visited this place, that no one has been able to injure or to remove them. Others extended from the roof to the floor, with diameters equal to that of the mast of a first rate ship of the line. The incrustations of the floor, caused by falling drops from the stalactites above, had grown up into dendritic and vegetable forms, which first suggested to Tournefort the strange notion of his having here discovered the vegetation of stones. Vegetation itself has been considered as a species of chrySTALLIZATION,* and as the process of crystallization is so surprisingly manifested by several phenomena in this grotto, some analogy may, perhaps, be allowed to exist between the plant and the stone; but it cannot be said that a principle of life existing in the former has been imparted to the latter. The last chamber into

* See Patrin, Hist. Nat. tom. III. pp. 130, 146. Par. An. 9. Laméthérie, &c. &c.

which we descended surprised us more by the grandeur of its exhibition than any other : and this seems to have been the same which Tournesfort intended to represent by the wretched view of it given in his work.* Probably there are many other chambers below this, yet unexplored, for no attempt has been made to penetrate further;† and if this be true, the new caverns, when opened, would appear in perfect splendor, unsullied, in any part of them, by the smoke of torches, or by the hands of intruders; for, although, in the general whiteness of the grotto, as it now appears, the partial injuries its beauty has sustained be not at first perceived, there are proofs that, in the course of time, by the increased frequency of the visits paid to it, and the damage caused by breaking the stalactites to remove as curiosities, the splendid effect produced by the whole must be diminished. After this general description, it will now be proper to give a more philosophical detail of our observations upon its natural history.

The substance itself which is thus deposited is purely *alabaster* : that is to say, it is a concretion of *carbonated lime* which was employed by the ancients in the manufacture of their unguentary vases;‡ and it is distinguished by its chemical constituents from the *alabaster* of modern times, or *gypsum*, which is a *sulphate of lime*. The formation of the *carbonated alabaster* by the stalactite process is now so well known, that its explanation may be comprehended in very few words. Nothing is more common than the presence of carbonic acid in water ; and when a superabundance of this acid is present, the fluid is capable of sustaining, in solution, a portion of *lime carbonate* ; but upon the slightest agitation, or division, or exposure to atmospheric air, or

* Voyage du Levant, tom. I. p. 227. à Lyon, 1717. A better idea of it may be formed by seeing the beautiful Plate engraved by Tilliard, from a drawing of the interior by Hilair, in the *Voyage Pittoresque*, tom. I. p. 74. Paris, 1782.

† Tournesfort mentions an opening of this kind : “ A côté de cette tour se voit un trou par où l'on entre dans une autre caverne, mais personne n'osa y descendre.” *Voy. du Lev.* tom. I. p. 231.

‡ “ † THERE CAME UNTO HIM A WOMAN HAVING AN ALABASTER BOX OF VERY PRECIOUS OINTMENT.” (*Matthew*, xxvi. 7.) The author found among the ruins of the city of Saïs, in Egypt, the fragment of one of the unguentary vases of the ancients ; it consists of white *carbonated alabaster*. Pliny says, that the best alabaster was of the colour of honey, and that it was a defect in the stone to be white and translucent. The alabaster of Antiparos is of a honey colour, like to that which comes to us from Gibraltar in a manufactured state.

change of temperature, the carbonic acid makes its escape, and the fluid, thus losing its solvent power, necessarily lets fall the lime. All this is very simple, and very easily comprehended. The paradox remains now to be stated: it is this; that these enormous stalactites, thus formed during a series of ages by the slow and gradual deposition of lime-water, filtering drop by drop from the roof of the cavern, offer concentric layers only toward their superficies; their interior structure exhibiting a completed crystallization, which separates by fracture into semi-transparent rhombs, as perfectly formed as if they had resulted from a simultaneous, instead of a continued, process. Almost every mineralogist may have noticed a rhomboïdal termination of the small translucent stalactites which are found at Castleton in Derbyshire; but there the operation has been carried on in water, a globule of which has remained constantly suspended at the point of each stalactite; but in this grotto, crystallization has been the result of a modification sustained by the whole interior of a mass of *alabaster*, subsequently to its original deposition. That the cavern has neither been filled with water, nor with any other fluid than atmospheric air, is very evident, by the formation of the stalactites, which could not otherwise have existed as they now appear. Every thing belonging to them, and to this cavern, will tend to perplex and to confound the naturalist; and many proofs of this are yet to follow. In the different cavities, and between the interstices of the stalactites, we had the satisfaction to discover, what no one had hitherto noticed—THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF ALABASTER, in distinct groups of large rhomboïdal primary crystals, upon the exterior surface of the several concretions: and that these crystals were gradually accumulating in size, until they met together and constituted one entire mass, was evident, because upon a diligent examination of all parts of the grotto, we found, that where the stalactites were small, and in an incipient state, the crystals upon their surface were exceedingly minute; where they were large, the crystals were also large, some of them exceeding two inches in diameter. Another surprising fact is, that although the outer crust of these crystals be opaque, and similar to the exterior incrustation of the concretions themselves, the crystals, when broken, are, each and all of them, integral parts of the stalactite upon which they have been formed. We carefully detached a

great variety of specimens, to illustrate and to confirm these observations; and although the waiwode who accompanied us, like a child craving the toy which amuses another, insisted upon having the finest specimen, under the pretext of presenting it to his ignorant patron the Capudan Pasha, we had the good fortune to bring many of these specimens to England, and to the university of Cambridge, where they have been annually exhibited during the mineralogical lectures. It was in that university, when the author was engaged in showing them to the celebrated Tennant, now professor of chemistry there, that the professor noticed among the stalactites one which was remarkably distinguished from the rest by its fascicular structure, by its superior hardness, and by the appearance of rays diverging from a common centre towards the circumference.* Its fracture is not rhomboïdal; and its dispersion into a powder, by heat, exhibits the still mouldering appearance of *arragonite*—and not the decrepitation of such particles of carbonated lime as contain water, of which specific nature are the generality of the stalactites in this grotto. From all these circumstances professor Tennant had no doubt of its being *ARRAGONITE*, and in the *STALACTITE FORM*, which has never before been noticed. Indeed, the mineral itself has been so rare, that were it not for the attention shown to it, and the interest excited, in consequence of its being the only anomaly in Haüy's theory of crystallization, very little of its real history would be known; nor can there be a greater inducement now offered to naturalists to visit the grotto of Antiparos, than the discovery thus made of a new locality of this curious mineral. Another singular circumstance in the history of the grotto is, that the incisions made by persons who have formerly inscribed their names in the *alabaster*, have not only been filled up, but the letters so marked have since protruded in relief from the surface of the stone; and this has hitherto received no explanation. Some Greek inscriptions near the entrance, also noticed by Tournefort, prove that the grotto was visited in a very early period. One of them, which he has preserved very entire, mentions that a

* A similar formation was noticed by Tournefort: "*Distinguée par six cercles concentriques, dont les fibres vont du centre à la circonférence.*" (Voy. du Lev. tom. I. p. 228. Lyons, 1717.) It is remarkable that the same writer denies the dropping of water in the grotto—" *Il ne tombe pas une seule goutte d'eau dans ce lieu.*" Ibid.

number of persons, whose names are subscribed, "came thither during the administration of CRITON."

ΕΠΙ
ΚΡΙΤΩΝΟΣ
ΟΙΔΕΗΛΘΟΝ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΣΟΧΑΡΜΟΣ
ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ
ΙΠΠΟΜΕΔΩΝ
ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ
ΦΙΛΕΑΣ
ΓΟΡΓΟΥΣ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ
ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΟΝΕΣΙΜΟΣ

Monsieur de Nointel, French ambassador to Constantinople, seems to have flattered himself that he was the first person who had ever ventured into this cavern.* During Christmas, in the year 1673, he caused mass to be celebrated in the grotto, at midnight; remaining here three entire days, accompanied by upwards of five hundred persons. The cavern was then illuminated by four hundred lamps, and one hundred large wax flambeaus; the elevation of the host was accompanied by the music of trumpets, hautboys, fifes, and violins, as well as by the discharge of artillery placed at the entrance of the cavern. Two Latin inscriptions yet record this *subterranean solemnity*, which may be

* Monsieur le Marquis de Nointel, ayant entendu dire, qu'il y avoit dans l'autre isle voisine, nommée Antiparos une grotte où personne n'osoit entrer, y voulut descendre la ville de Noël. Je m'offris à l'y accompagner, &c." *L'Etat present de l'Archipel, de Mons. M. D. L. à Cologne, 1678. p. 65. Première Partie.*

considered as ascertaining the epocha of the first visit paid to the grotto in modern times. In the words which the ambassador caused to be inscribed upon the base of the *stalagmite* which supplied him with an altar for the occasion, we have a striking example of the Roman Catholic faith, as to the miraculous presence of the Messiah in the consecrated wafer :

HIC . IPSE . CHRISTVS . ADFVIT
EJVS . NATALI . DIE . MEDIA . NOCTE
CELEBRATO . MDCLXXIII.

The chamel between the two islands is not more than a mile wide ; but it is two leagues from the port of Antiparos to that of Paros. It was this distance which convinced Tournefort that Antiparos is the island called *Oliaros*, or *Olearos*, by the ancients. We returned to Paros highly gratified by our very interesting expedition, and carefully packed the specimens we had collected.

Wednesday, October the twenty-first. This day we set out upon mules for the ancient quarries of the famous Parian marble, which are situated about a league to the east of the town, upon the summit of a mountain, nearly corresponding in altitude with the situation of the grotto of Antiparos. The son of our host, a young married man, accompanied us. We rode through several olive plantations in our ascent ; the fruit of these trees was the sole topic of conversation with our worthy guide, who spoke of a ripe olive as the most delicious dainty which Heaven had vouchsafed to man upon earth ; giving him greater strength, vigour, and agility, than any other kind of food. " Oh ! " said he, smacking his lips, " how we feast at my father's when olives first come into season." The mountain in which the quarries are situated, now called *Capresso*, is believed* to have been the *Marpessus* mentioned by Servius† and by Stephanus Byzantinus:‡ there are two of those quarries. When we arrived at first, we found at the mouth of the quarry, heaps of fragments detached from the interior : they were tinged, by long

* See Tournefort (*Voy. du Lev.* tom. 1. p. 239. Lyon, 1717,) and the following authorities by him cited.

† " MARPESOS mons est Paræ insulæ." *Servius in Æneid.* vi.

‡ ΜΑΡΙΕΣΣΑ, ὅρος Πάρου ἀπ' οὗ οἱ Ἀῖοι ἱζαίονται. *Stephanus Byzantinus.* *L. Bat.* 1694.

exposure to the air, with a reddish ochreous hue, but, upon being broken, exhibited the glittering sparry fracture which often characterizes the remains of Grecian sculpture; and in this we instantly recognised the beautiful marble which is generally named, by way of distinction, the *Parian*, although the same kind of marble be also found in *Thasos*;* and it is remarkable that the inhabitants of *Thasos* were a *Parian* colony.† The marble of *Naxos* only differs from the *Thasian* and *Parian* in exhibiting a more advanced state of crystallization. The peculiar excellence of the *Parian* is extolled by *Strabo*;‡ and it possesses some valuable qualities unknown even to the ancients, who spoke so highly in its praise.§ These qualities are, that of hardening by exposure to atmospheric air (which however is common to all homogeneous limestone,) and the consequent property of resisting decomposition through a series of ages,—and this, rather than the supposed preference given to the *Parian* marble by the ancients, may be considered as the cause of its prevalence among the remains of Grecian sculpture. That the *Parian* marble was highly and deservedly extolled by the Romans, has been already shown; but in a very early period, when the arts had attained their full splendour in the age of *Pericles*, the preference was given by the Greeks, not to the marble of *Paros*, but to that of *Mount Pentelicus*: because it was whiter; and also, perhaps, because it was found in the immediate vicinity of *Athens*. The *Parthenon* was built entirely of *Pentelican* marble. Many of the *Athenian* statues, and of the works carried on near *Athens* during the administration of *Pericles*, (as, for example, the temple of *Ceres* at *Eleusis*,) were executed in the marble of *Pentelicus*. But the finest Grecian sculpture which has been preserved to the present time is generally of *Parian* marble. The *Medicæan Venus*, the *Belvidere Apollo*, the *Antinous*, and many other celebrated works, are of *Parian* marble; notwithstanding the preference which was so early bestowed upon the

* For this remark the author is indebted to Mr. Hawkins, the publication of whose *Travels in Greece* has long been anxiously expected by all who know the industry of his researches and the superior accuracy of his observations.

† Τὸ δὲ Πάρων ἐκτίσθη Θάσος. *Strabon. Geog. lib. x. p. 711. Oxon. 1807.*

‡ Ἐν δὲ τῇ Πάρῳ ἡ Παρία λίθος λεγομένη, ἀρίστη πρὸς τὴν μαρμαρογλυφίαν. *Strabon. Geog. lib. x. p. 711. Oxon. 1807.*

§ “*PAROS*, cum oppido, ab *Delo* xxxviii mill. marmore nobilis; quam primo *PACTIAM* (MS. *PLATEAM*,) postea *MIKOIDA* vocârunt.” *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iv. c. 12. L. Bat. 1635. tom. 1. p. 223.*

Pentelican : and this is easily explained. While the works executed in Parian marble retain, with all the delicate softness of wax, the mild lustre even of their original polish, those which were finished in Pentelican marble have been decomposed, and sometimes exhibit a surface as earthy and as rude as common limestone. This is principally owing to veins of extraneous substances which intersect the Pentelican quarries, and which appear more or less in all the works executed in this kind of marble. The fracture of Pentelican marble is sometimes splintery, and partakes of the foliated texture of the schistus which traverses it ; consequently it has a tendency to exfoliate, like *Cipilino*, by spontaneous decomposition.

We descended into the quarry, whence not a single block of marble has been removed since the island fell into the hands of the Turks ; and perhaps it was abandoned long before ; as might be conjectured from the ochreous colour by which all the exterior surface of the marble is now invested. We seemed, therefore, to view the grotto exactly according to the state in which it had been left by the ancients : all the cavities, cut with the greatest nicety, showed to us, by the sharpness of their edges, the number and the size of every mass of Parian marble which had been removed for the sculptors of ancient Greece. If the stone had possessed the softness of potter's clay, and had been cut by wires, it could not have been separated with greater nicety, evenness, and economy. The most evident care was everywhere displayed that there should be no waste of this precious marble ; the larger squares and parallelograms corresponded, as a mathematician would express it, by a series of *equimultiples* with the smaller, in such a manner that the remains of the entire of vein marble, by its dipping inclination, resembled the degrees or seats of a theatre. It was impossible to view such a source of materials which had exercised the genius of Grecian sculptors, without fancying that we could ascertain the different works for which the several masses had been removed. " Here," said we, " were slabs for *Metopes* and *Triglyphs* ; there, were blocks for *altars* and *Doric capitals* ; here was an *Apollo* ; there, a *Venus* ; that larger cavity may have supplied a mass for a *Laocoön* ; from this place they perhaps removed a *Soros* ; the columns taken from hence had evidently *divided shafts*, there being no cavity of sufficient length to admit the removal of *entire pi-*

lars." These and similar observations continually escaped us: but who shall explain the method used by the ancients in hewing, with such marvellous precision, and with such apparent ease, the interior of this quarry, so as neither to leave one casual fracture, nor any where to waste its produce? They had very little knowledge of machinery; but human labour was then of little value, and the most surprising works may always be referred to ages when this was easily obtained.

We quitted the larger quarry, and visited another somewhat less elevated. Here, as if the ancients had resolved to mark for posterity the scene of their labours, we observed an ancient bas relief upon the rock. It is the same which Tournefort describes;* although he has erred in stating the subject of it. It is a more curious relic than is commonly supposed. The French have twice endeavoured to remove it, by sawing the marble behind; but perceiving that it would separate into two parts if they persisted; owing to a fissure in the stone, they had the good taste to abandon the undertaking. The subject is literally a Grecian caricature. It represents, in three departments, a festival of *Silenus*, mistaken by Tournefort for *Bacchus*. The demigod is figured in the upper part of it as a corpulent drunkard, with ass's ears, accompanied by laughing satyrs and dancing girls. A female figure is represented sitting, with a fox sleeping in her lap. A warrior is also introduced, wearing a Phrygian bonnet. There are twenty-nine figures; and below is this inscription:

ΑΔΑΜΑΣ
ΟΔΡΥΣΗΣ
ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ

which may be thus rendered into English, "ADAMAS ODRYSES TO THE LASSES," for by *Nymphs* were intended unmarried women.† Chandler, in his travels in Greece, describes the *Nymphæum* near *Vary* in *Attica*, and gives

* Voy. du Lev. tom. 1. p. 239. à *Lyon*, 1717.

† See Diod. Sic. Biblioth. Hist. lib. iii. Animad. ad Stat. part 2. Also Tournefort, tom. II. p. 240. *Lyon*, 1717.

three inscriptions,* one of which purports that “*Archidamus made the cave for the nymphs.*” In another inscription, found in the same *cave of the nymphs*, the latter part, whether designedly or not, is an Iambic trimeter.† In the Corycian Cave, the existence of which was discovered by the author in a subsequent part of these travels, although he did not then visit the place,‡ some of his friends found an inscription to *Pan and the Nymphs*;§ therefore this kind of dedication was common in Greece. The marble in both these quarries was excavated by the light of lamps; and to this circumstance Pliny attributes one of its names, *Lychnites*.|| The same appellation occurs also in Athenæus.** With regard to the image of *Silenus*, in the bas-relief, it has never been observed that Pliny mentions it as a natural curiosity, and one of the marvels of ancient Greece. The figure of *Silenus* was accidentally discovered, as a *lusus naturæ*, in splitting the rock; and, of course, all the other parts of this piece of sculpture had been adjusted by *Odrysis* to the natural representation, when he dedicated his work to the young women of the island. Such a method of heightening and of improving any casual effect of this kind has been very common in all countries, especially where the populace are to be deluded by some supposed prodigy; and thus the cause is explained why this singular piece of sculpture, so rudely executed, yet remains as a part of the natural rock; whence it would be an act of worse than Gothic barbarity to remove it. “A wonderful circumstance,” says Pliny,†† “is related of the Parian quarries. The mass of entire stone being separated by the wedges of the workmen, there appeared within it AN EFFIGY OF SILENUS.” In the existence of this *bas-relief* as an integral part of the natural rock, and in the allusion

* See Inscript. Antiq. p. 76.

† Φραδαῖσι Νυμφῶν ἄντρον ἱεργησάτο.

‡ See “tomb of Alexander,” p. 153. *Camb.* 1805.

§ Παννύμφαις. The inscription was discovered by Mr. Raikes, in company with Mr. Gell, Mr. Dodwell, and others. Mr. Raikes found also a small terra cotta vessel, elegantly formed, which the ancients had left, as an *ex voto*, in the cave.

|| “Omnes autem candido marmore usi sunt è Paro insulâ, quem lapidem cœpere Lychniten appellare, quoniam ad lucernas in cuniculis caderetur.” *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 5. tom. III. p. 468. L. Bat. 1635.*

** Λίθος Λυχνίς. Athen. Deipn. lib. v.

†† “Sed in Pariorum mirabile proditur, glebâ lapidis unius cuneis dividendum solutâ, IMAGINEM SILENI intus extitisse.” *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 5. tom. III. p. 468. L. Bat. 1635.*

made to it by Pliny, we have sufficient proof that these were ancient quarries;* consequently they are the properest places to resort to for the identical stone whose colour was considered as pleasing to the gods,† which was used by Praxiteles‡ and by other illustrious Grecian sculptors, and celebrated§ for its whiteness by Pindar and by Theocritus.|| We collected several specimens; in breaking them we observed the same whiteness and brilliant fracture which characterizes the marble of Naxos, but with a particular distinction before mentioned—the Parian marble being harder, having a closer grain, and a less foliated texture. Three different stages of *crystallization* may be observed, by comparing the three different kinds of marble, dug at *Carrara* in Italy, in *Paros*, and in *Naxos*; the Carrara marble being milk-white** and less crystalline than the Parian; and the Parian whiter†† and less crystallized than the Naxian: lastly,

* This curious *bas relief*, together with the entrance to the quarry which contained it, are represented in the *Voyage Pittoresque* of count de Choiseul Gouffier, (*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, tome I. p. 68. Paris, 1782.) but with more attention to the effect of a beautiful picture than to accuracy of design. The plates in that magnificent work are almost equal in their style of composition, and in their execution, to the engravings of *Audran* from paintings by *Le Brun*; and that to which allusion is now made is faithful in every thing, except in the detail of this piece of ancient sculpture. A reference to the French work will, however, serve to show its situation in the quarry, and render unnecessary any further attempt at delineation, where the manner of it must necessarily be so very inferior. The antiquity itself is the greatest curiosity in the island; and, perhaps, from the circumstance which Pliny has mentioned, it will excite the attention of travellers more than it has hitherto done.

† Plato de Leg. tom. II. lib. xii. p. 296.

‡ “*Praxitelem Paria vindicat arte lapis.*” Propertius, lib. iii. Eleg. vii. 16. Also Quintilian. lib. ii. 19. “*Praxiteles signum aliquod e molari lapide conatus est exsculpere, Parium marmor vellum rude.*” &c. See also a curious Treatise of Blasius Caryophilus (*vulgo Biagio Garofolo, Neapolitanus.*) entitled “*De Antiquis Marmoribus Opusculum.*” p. 10. Utrecht, 1743: and the numerous authors therein cited.

§ Vid. Nem. Ode IV. p. 262. Genev. 1626.

Στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου

Διθου λευκοτίραν.

|| Theocritus (*Idyll.* vi. 38) compares the *whiteness of teeth* with Parian marble:

——— τῶν δὲ τ' ὀδόντων

Λευκοτίραν αὐγὰν Παρίας ὑπέρβαινε λίθοιο.

** Pliny mentions the superior whiteness of the Carrara marble, in comparing it with the Parian. The quarries of Carrara are the *Lunensian* of that author; *Luna* being the name of a city, and *Lunensis* that of a promontory near to the modern Carrara. “*Multis postea candidioribus repertis, nuper etiam in Lunensium lapidicinis.*” Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. c. 5. tom. III. p. 468. L. Bat. 1635.

†† Although the Parian was not the *whitest* marble known to the ancients,

as a completion of the process, may be mentioned the *stalactites*, or *alabaster*, of Antiparos ; in which the same chemical constituents are perfectly crystallized, exhibiting the rhomboidal fracture and the specific gravity of the *Iceland spar*, which, in all probability, is also a stalactite. These phenomena do oppose striking facts to the *Plutonian* theory of the crystallization of carbonated lime by means of *heat* and *pressure* : not that the author wishes to maintain any argument against the possibility of crystallization by means of heat, because all that seems necessary for crystallization is a *separation of particles*, and a *subsequent retreat*. Whether this separation be effected by *solution*, or by *fusion* (which is only another name for solution;) and whether the retreating body be an *aqueous fluid*, or the *fluid matter of heat*; a regularity of structure may equally become the result: basaltic forms have been recognised in the bottom of a furnace,* as well as upon the borders of a lake.† The facts now adduced are opposed, it is true, to the *Plutonian* theory; because they prove the crystallization of carbonated lime by an *aqueous process*: but they affect this theory only as a system which generalizes too much from partial appearances, in explaining the formation of mineral bodies:

as appears by the preceding note, yet its *whiteness* was one cause of its great celebrity. It is thus described in the Itinerary of Antoninus:

INSULA PAROS

IN HAC LAPIS CANDIDISSIMVS NASCITVR

QVI DICITVR PARIVS.

* A specimen exhibiting a basaltic configuration, as found in the bottom of an iron furnace, is preserved in the Royal Collection at Stockholm.

† Witness the lakes in the south of Sweden; the lake of Bolsenna in Italy; the lake of Gennesareth in the Holy Land; &c. &c.

